THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Now, we take up the Short Duration Discussion. Shri Arun Shourie. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, who is covering it form the Government side?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): The Minister of State is here. (*Interruptions*) A Cabinet Minister is here. The Minister of State for Home is here. The Home Minister will also be coming shortly. (*Interruptions*) Don't worry, everything will be noted.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Everything will be noted, Sir, but courtesy demanded that the Home Minister should have been here when the debate was being initiated.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

Internal Security Scenario in the Country

[MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE (Uttar Pradesh): Respected Chairman, Sir, we are discussing the subject almost the day exactly after one year from the last discussion and we will soon be given the figures about the decrease in the number of casualties in Jammu and Kashmir and the increase in the number of tourists. I have been hearing these figures for almost seven years since I came to this House. Sir, I will come to Jammu and Kashmir also as to why I have grave apprehensions about what is happening there. But the fact of the matter is, there has been very great deterioration of the situation in many parts of the country. I acknowledge the concerns of the Home Minister. The Prime Minister himself expressed has gravest concern on this matter. I have very grave apprehension about the general approach of the Government on security matters and, in my view, as I was just now suggesting to you, Sir, the general approach is compounding the problem of security and the problem for the security services in the naxalite areas, in the North East, and in Jammu and Kashmir. And the reason for this is partly a misplaced show of compassion and, secondly, there is no general objective of the goal towards which the Government is proceeding.

What is happening is like sending people with buckets. Wherever the fire breaks out, you send a few buckets of water and then it breaks out at

another place and we rush the people there. I should mention this point. And, last time, I drew the atention to the fact that the number of districts which have been affected by the naxalite activity has gone up from 143 to 157. The reply of the Home Minister was, "No, no, this has not happened in six months. This has been growing continuously for three years, from 131 to 143 to 157." Actually, that should have caused even greater apprehension because that meant that governance was continuously evaporating in large areas, and, therefore, the writ of Governments, State and Central, was not running in those areas and the writ of other groups was running. But it was given as an explanation, "No, it is going on for three years." I had then drawn attention to this.

Now what is happening is, from 157, all official figures, we now have 165 districts which are affected by the naxalite activities and they expand to over 14 States. What were guerrilla pockets became guerrilla zones. I have the map here based on Government sources, you can access it on the Internet in which the red corridor from Nepal to Karnataka is already in place.

The second point is, I had drawn attention by quoting extracts from who of the four Task Forces which had been set up and the grave situation which they portrayed and the recommendations which they had made. It was said, "Oh, this is done in your time, what did you do?" Mr. Jaswant Singh, my friend, got up and as is his custom, he chose his phrase very carefully and said, "The recommendations relating to the Task Forces about armed forces had been 95 per cent implemented." This was taken by the Home Minister to say, "See, the Leader of the Opposition answered the points of Arun Shourie and I assure the House that even the remaining 5 per cent recommendations are under implementation and will be implemented swiftly."

He also said that 'whatever points have been made I have noted carefully. There are 50 points that have been made. I shall reply to them orally and in addition I shall send in writing the replies to each of those points.' That was an assurance to the House. I do not want to make grievance of it. It is the pattern to which I shall come. No written reply came to me. I checked with the Secretariat and they have not been able to trace any replies that have gone in writing to anybody. But I am not on that point. I will start with this quotation from the Home Minister's statement at that time. He said that 'actually for dealing with all these things....Members may not know because this is an internal matter of the Home Ministry. There is a

mechanism for dealing with the security situations specially about the Naxalite type of thing. I will explain to you the mechanism that is available in the Home Ministry today. We have a Special Secretary here. The responsibility given to the Special Security Secretary is to talk to the DIGs and other officers of the Naxalite affected States every month or two months or whenever it is necessary and decide what has to be done. This mechanism is already there. Probably it is not known to the hon. Members—he was sharing a State secret— because it is an internal matter that we are doning.Then there is a Committee, which is presided over by the Home Secretary who talks to the Chief Secretaries of the States and DIGs of the States and they decide what policy should be adopted. Then there are regional Committees of the Home Ministers and the Chief Ministers and then the Chief Ministers have been talking to the Prime Minister. There are Committees. There is a mechanism and 100 per cent of the *recommendations have been implemented.' Everybody is talking to* everybody. What is the result? The result is that not only that the figure of districts affected has now gone from 157 last time to 165 districts affecting 14 States. You see that there is a complete change in the pattern of assault. I really wish nobody would dismiss what I am trying to suggest that it is usual attack on one party or the other. It is absolutely not the case. I recognise that it is a matter of grave concern to the Home Minister and the Prime Minister. I am speaking only in that respect. Drawing your attention to the qualitative change that has come about in the last one or two years, I will only refer to Mr, Jaiswal statement given only day before yesterday Lok Sabha. Just see, on 13th November, at Jahanabad, according to his statement 300 to 400 Naxalities gathered. My information from the police as that they started gathering in the morning. They launched an attack at 11.00 p.m. They had simultaneously attacks on the sub-jail, on the district court, on the district armoury and on the S.S. College where a para-military camp had been set up. Two days earlier they had disconnected the phone lines to that area. Then they disconnected the electricity. They looted arms and ammunition. They killed six people on the spot. The Minister of State for Home said that there had been intelligence inputs that they would be doing all this. All this has happened just 50 to 60 kms. from Patna, from the State Capital. It was happening when the State Government was under the direct control of the Central Government for seven months.

Sir, I am going to take the things across the States to show that this is not confined to Congress *vs.* BJP or anything like that. But Two days

before at Girdhi in Jharkhand there had been a similar attack on the Home Guard Training School. There also, according to Mr. Jaiswal, 150 Naxalites attacked. they killed four persons. Just see what they looted. He says," they looted 183 guns, two revolvers and 2500 rounds of ammunition. He says as an explanation that prior to the attack they had blocked all roads into the town by planting landmines and other explosive devices. After looting the weapons, after killing these people in the Home Guard Training Centre, they went and fired at a *mela* that was going on.

They then went and ambushed a police party and again he says in an official statement in the Lok Sabha, "the State Government had reported that they had inputs on naxals attacking." Please see, they had precise information of what will be attacked, police pickets, police stations, police establishments in Giridih district and the district police were informed. Sir, on 23rd June, exactly the same thing happened with 200 naxalites attacking in Madhuban in East Champaran. It was a synchronised attack on the police station, on the branches of the SBI, branches of the Central Bank of India. On 6th February, in Koraput in Orissa, there was a prolonged operation of district armoury lasting several hours. They looted 2000 firearms. Then, they went to the police station, attacked it. They went to the Sadar police camp, attacked it. They went to the office of the SP, attacked it. They went to the district treasury, attacked it and looted it. They went to the Orissa Special Armed Police Centre of the third battalion and attacked it.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Sixth February of which year?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Supposing it was 2004, you want to say that it happened under one Government rather than the other. Sir, before you came, I said that please—that was your defence last time—I am not on the point that things happened under your Government or under the previous Government or not. It is really a secular trend that has been going on, about the break down of administration to which I am sure you would want to attend to. You say 'which Government?' In Karbi Anglong that has happened. Hundred people were massacred. That was happening also in 2004. Not only that, it is the Minister of Forest Welfare there, his area;.. I do not want to say Congress—of the present Government in Assam who says that there is absolutely no security in the area. He has said this in an official statement.

श्री एस॰ एम॰ अहलुवालिया (झारखंड) : चीफ मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि जंगल में आदमी नहीं मरेगा तो कहां मरेगा?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, in Andhra Pradesh, the same things has been going on. Last time when the Home Minister spoke he said, "look here." I am quoting the exact phrase "the number of incidents and killings in Andhra has gone down like anything." Since then, legislators have been killed of TDP, of the Congress. And this very great compassion which was shown against people like me and everybody else was a warning. Mr.Ramachandraiah here had said that this is the result of an electoral understanding that you came about and you will pay for it, the country will pay for it. That very arrangement has now had to be called off and you again see that it is the same pattern of large numbers of people going and attacking there and getting away with everything. Sir, if you want the figures of Maharashtra I can give you of police people being killed again and again, this year itself. It is not your responsibility or mine or anybody's. But that is the fact. Sir, the position is in Mau, we have had four days of killing. You have just had in UP, a BJP MLA and six of his people being killed. Sir, the point to ponder over is: what has the mechanism that the Home Minister was telling us and there seems to be so much faith in this mechanism that in the statement he made on the 29th in the Lok Sabha, the Minister of State again lauded this, is in place? What has this mechanism done? I will tell you, they have done another study. In my reckoning, this is the eighth study on Left Wing Extremism and this was circulated at your meeting this time of the Directors General of Police and you will say that I again rely on secret document. This is also marked secret. I do not know why, what are you hiding from? What from? It is because there is not a single new fact that comes out here. But time was passed saying that 'yes, what are we doing'? We are doing another study. I will read only one sentence from it, Sir, so that when we discuss it next year we will remember this sentence.

They say, 'naxalite violence shall remain a cause of serious concern...' —they have the DIGs and there was everybody in that Committee and was headed by the Director General of Police of Andhra Pradesh— '...the naxal presence can be expected to strengthen in the areas where it has made an appearance recently and there is a high probability in Uttaranchal which has hitherto not witnessed such incidents. Assam and Gujarat are likely to see much greater naxal activities.' I would only request that such a Report should have been made available to the House so that the people realise the gravity of the situation. But, I am on the pattern. So,

the pattern is that large numbers are coming and gathering together. Higher technology is being used in the explosives that they are using. There are synchronised attacks at many locations over many hours. And, they are, now in, each of these, looting enough arms and ammunition of start equipping a small army. Now, Sir, what does this show? Just before lunch we have been hearing demands from learned Members, who are, naturally, very concerned, that our paramillitary forces should be sent to Afghanistan to protech our personnel. The fact of the matter is, today, in large parts of this full swath of the country from Nepal to Karnataka the police is not able to protect itself. Now, in large parts of the country, individual offices do not dare go individually. They go with company and there they become easy targets of landmines. Very soon, the hon. Home Minister will give us, as he gave us last year, the figures of diminishing rate of casualties and incidents. These do not hide the truth of the matter that in large parts of the country, civilian life, economic life is being ceded to these groups. They collect taxes. They levy taxes. They demand and get protection money from Government officers, from forest guards. They set up kangaroo courts to dispense the so-called justice. They sequester land by just planting a flag there. They decide who should get the Government contracts. I read out to you what the former Director General of police wants to say. He was the DIG of U.P. Then, he was the DG of the BSF. He is Mr. Prakash Singh. He says in an article in Hindustan Times of 17th of November, 2005. That is the situation which is not going to be visible from the figures which we have just now been told. At least, eight districts he writes in the article---in Eastern UP and four contiguous districts of Bihar are today completely under the grip of mafia. The rule of law exists only on paper. District Magistrates and SPs kowtow before the mafia dons, take orders from them on critical matters. Because of this situation, nobody is listerning to their ***aranya rodan***. In Ghazipur district, where the BJP MLA was killed along with six others, most of the station House officers owe their position to the local don---I am not taking his name because fortunately he is not a Member of this House but has been much in the news in the last few days. The SP and the DM merely concur with his recommendations. So and so, in fact, he will decide who is to get the contracts for major projects in UP's Eastern districts. His recommendations for arms license have to be honoured. When we travels, he does so in style. A cavalcade of six to seven Qualis cars moves with a posse of about 12 policemen provided to him by the State Government and another of about 20-30 armed hoodlums.

श्री नन्द किशोर यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश): आप गलत तथ्य दे रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... एकदम गलत बात कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री अरुण जेटली (गुजरात): ऐसे ही आपने अंदाजा लगा दिया। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: And, Sir, he goes on to say that it is the same position in regard to Shahbuddin. Sir, the person appears on TV...

श्री अबू आसिम आजमी (उत्तर प्रदेश): जो मारे गए, जिनका मर्डर हुआ, उनके साथ कितने गार्ड थे और उनका क्या हुआ, यह भी जरा बता दीजिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

شری ابوعاصم اعظمی : جو مارے گئے، جن کا مرڈر ہوا، ان کے ساتھ کتنے گارڈ تھے اور ان کا کیا ہوا، یہ بھی ذرا بتا دیجئے.....مداخلت.....

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, it is not a competition. (*Interruptions*) It is not a competition between number of guards. (*Interruptions*).

श्री अबू आसिम आजमी: आप ईमानदारी से बात कर रहे हैं तो उनका भी नाम ले लीजिए ...(व्यवधान)... क्या केसिज़ थे, कितने गार्ड उनके साथ थे, यह बता दीजिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

شری ابوعاصم اعظمی : آپ ایمانداری سے بات کر رہے ہیں تو ان کا بھی نام لے لیجئے.....مداخلت..... کیا کیسیز تھے، کتنے گارڈ ان کے ساتھ تھے، وہ بتا دیجئے.....مداخلت.....

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, Shahb-ud-din is a colleague of ours in Parliament. He gives interviews on television. He gives interviews to Pressmen. He lounges about in his flat in Delhi. He is known everywhere. He appears for his law exam. But warrants are not executed. What is this signal that is being sent? These things will not be registered in the Home Minister's figures. Two Ministers of the Central Government—Sir, we sit with Dr. Radhakrishnan's photograph here; Gandhiji's name is on our lips—are the 'absconding' Ministers. What is this signal that we are giving? We are protecting people in Afghanistan; but, here, this is our situation. Ministers, Members of Parliament and others are dictating transfers, postings, and arms' licences. And, there is a reason for this. The reasons are two or threefold. It is the basis approach that is wrong. The basic approach is, again, Sir, you will find it in last year's proceedings. We know the transparent sincerity of the Home Ministry. But it is a misplaced compassion. He says, "these are brothers and sisters, sons and daughters.

†[]Transliteration in Urdu Script.

we are not afraid to talk." He gave last time's example of the Longowal Accord. But that was after the militancy had been crushed, which is the right sequence. But he said, "No, no, we have to deal with them as a *karta* of a joint family". And, he has been repeating this again and again. There is an alternate approach to all this. I will read out that to you for a minute, Sir. And, you will see what is happening. At least, don't mind if I quote a person who don't approve of. "The challenge of terrorism—all this is terrorism—must be faced squarely and resolutely by all shades of political opinion. There can be no political compromise with terror. No inch conceded, no compassion shown." Completely in contrast what has been said here! "The people of India have suffered a great deal at the hands of terrorists and our Government I am sure I speak for all the Chief Ministers represented here, is resolute in its determination to wipe out this threat to a civilized and democratic way of life. There are no good terrorists and bad terrorists. There is no cause, root or branch..." Please contrast that with what the Home Minister had said in this very House in the last debate, when he said that it is due to social and economic problems. "There is no cause root or branch that can every justify the killing of innocent people" As if the security persons, who are killed, are not innocent, and the functionaries of a duly established democratic Government.And, he says that whenever ther are talks, he is all for talks with terrorists, "...but no one is either permitted or expected to resort to violence to achieve these ends or to try and prevent the elected functionaries from doing what they are supposed to do.This should be made amply clear in our policy announcements. Talks and negotiations should always be welcomed". This all is welcome. "...it should be clarified at the outset, so that there are no misunderstandings or a feeling of the letdown at later stages". The same person also said, "Cross border linkages of Maoists ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): That is suspense. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: No, no. Supposing he is Narender Modi, my friend. (*Interruptions*) No, supposing he is Narender Modi. (*Interruptions*) You approve of it or don't approve of it? (*Interruptions*) Sir, he has said that cross border linkages of Maoists constituted "an even greater threat to India than militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and the North East. Large swathes of tribal terrorists from Andhra Pradesh in the South to the borders of Uttar Pradesh and Bengal in the North and the East respectively have become hunting ground for Left wing Extremists."

It is the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, speaking. Now, look at the Home Minister's speech. On 24th April, not in 2004, but 2005, the Home Minister speaking in Bangalore said, "The Government is not interested in using weapons. They, that is, the naxalites are our brothers and sisters and we know that this is a socio-economic problem...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Where are you reading it from? I do not know what you are reading. ...(*Interruptions*)... Where are you reading from? ...(*Interruptions*)...What is it that you are attributing to me? ...(*Interruptions*)... What is it that you are reading?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I have downloaded from the Internet. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: These are newspapers written by you. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: No; no, it is not from newspaper, my friend...(*Interruptions*)...Please, look... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I have not said anything of that kind. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Newspapers are not written by him, newspapers are written by those people. ...(*Interruptions*)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पणि (उड़ीसा): महोदय, यह जरनलिज्म के प्रति कटाक्ष जैसा विषय है ... (व्यवधान)।

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I would like to know the source ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, this is a very serious matter. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, first of all, I am objecting to his putting some words in my mouth and without any connection that, when I said in what connection I said that, what did I say before that and after that, he just...(*Interruptions*)...What is your source? ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: This was made on 24th April in Bangalore. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Give me the source, I am asking for the source. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Right, Sir. I am giving you exactly the source of this paper also. It is on 24th April in Bangalore. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: It is a newspaper. ...(*Interruptions*)...Sir, you know, the newspapers are not to be read and quoted from in the House. The hon. Member who is making that statement has to support it. These are the rules provided by us. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Jharkhand): Sir, it happened the other day also. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: It is always convenient that whenever people want to quote from newspapers, they go on quoting them...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I have taken a stand and it is written in the books and if any hon. Member wants to quote anything that appears in the newspapers, he has to take the responsibility and he has to say, "I have examined the issue, I have come to this conclusion, and so I am relying upon it." ...(*Interruptions*)...Now Sir, I make a speech for one hour and you write two columns. You pick and chose only those things which go against me or in my favour, and they rely upon it. ...(*Interruptions*)... is this the correct way of doing things? ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, you would recall that only day-before yesterday, an hon. Minister of this Government was quoting from a newspaper report and I objected to it. ...(*Interruptions*)... I objected to it, Sir, and you ruled, it is very fresh in our memory, that he has a right to quote from a newspaper. ...(*Interruptions*)...Sir, you ruled it. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am not finding fault with the ruling of the hon. Chair. ...(*Interruptions*)... I am just referring to the Rule Book and to the rule itself. I am not finding fault with any ruling, I am not supporting any Minister or anyone else quoting from the newspapers. But, I am making a submission that the Rule Book provides that you need not quote the newspapers and if you want to rely upon any newspapers, you shall have to take the responsibility for it. You shall have to say that I have investigated

into the matter, I rely upon it and I depend upon it, not on newspapers. Newspaper is not responsible to the Parliament; a Member is responsible to the Parliament. ...(*Interruptions*)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: महोदय, कल से आप एक काम करें, यहां पर केन्द्र के गृह मंत्री कह रहे हैं कि हम न्यूज़ पेपर पर विश्वास नहीं करेंगे ...(व्यवधान)...।

श्री सभापति: वे कह रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: नहीं, नहीं, सर। आप चेयरमैन हैं, आप आदेश दें कि पार्लियामेंट की लाइब्रेरी में जो अखबारें खरीदी जाती हैं, वे बंद कर दी जाएं, बंद कर दी जाएं। ...(व्यवधान)... गृहमंत्री हो कर आप मीडिया पर सेंसर लगाना चाहते हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): You better follow the rule. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: When Shri P. Chidambaram was quoting, you people kept quite. ...(*Interruptions*)...When I objected to Shri P. Chidambaram quoting from the newspaper. ...(*Interruptions*)... He is a Minister in the Government, ...(*Interruptions*)... When he was quoting from the newspaper, you allowed it. ...(*Interruptions*)... What is this? ...(*Interruptions*)... The Home Minister's objections must be overruled. ...(*Interruptions*)... You overruled it day-before-yesterday, Sir. That is your ruling by which we all stand committed in this House. So, there is no need for a new rule. ...(*Interruptions*)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: नहीं, आपने ईरान की अखबार पढ़वाई, आपने ईराक की अखबार पढ़वाई, आपने अमरीका की अखबार पढ़वाई, आपने पाकिस्तान की अखबार पढ़वाई, वे सब अखबारें हम पढ़ें और हिन्दुस्तान की अखबार नहीं पढ़ें? जो 14 अखबारें आपके दफ्तर में ली जाती हैं, प्रेस क्लीपिंग आपके सामने रखे जाते हैं, खंडन क्यों नहीं किया आपने? उसका आप खंडन करते। सारी अखबारें आपके पास जाती हैं, गृह मंत्रालय में जाती हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया: जोर से बोलने से हम डरने वाले नहीं हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI (Punjab): Sir, the hon. Member is distorting the whole thing ...(*Interruptions*)... Nobody has said that Indian newspapers cannot be ...(*Interruptions*)...He is distorting ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, this is not an issue at all. आपने परसों किया। ...(व्यवधान)... परसों का रूलिंग हमारे खिलाफ आया तो चुपचाप ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री आनन्द शर्मा (हिमाचल प्रदेश): सर मुझे कुछ और बात कहनी है, मैं विवाद में नहीं पड़ रहा हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Listen to the Chairman. Chairman wants to say something.

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा (राजस्थान): सर, क्या आपने अहलुवालिया जी को इजाजत दी है?

श्री सभापति: मैं आपको भी देता हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

माननीय सदस्यगण, मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं कि इस सदन में कई बार इस प्रकार के समाचार पत्रों को कोट किया गया है, कोट करने के पीछे भावना यह है कि आथंटीकेटेड होना चाहिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: That is right.

श्री एस॰ एस॰ अहलुवालिया: अखबार सामने रख देंगे। ...(व्यवधान)...

एक माननीय सदस्य: आथंटीकेट कौन करेगा। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री सभापति: उनकी जिम्मेदारी है इसे आथंटीकेट करने की जो बोल रहे हैं, वे अपनी जिम्मेदारी से बोल रहे हैं।

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, I am on a different issue...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Shourie, just yield for a moment...*(Interruptions)*...I am on a different issue. Sir, this is a very important subject which is being discussed. Arun Shourieji has done a lot of home-work. He has his comprehension. Right in the beginning, I did appreciate, all of us, when you said that it is not a question of this Government or the previous Government. This particular issue should be kept out of partisan politics. Now, the moment we drag it into partisan debate, the moment we make it partisan, the purpose is lost.

Secondly, I was also present here in the House, Sir. What you quoted...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seat...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: This is a selective quoting...*(Interruptions)*... He never...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat...*(Interruptions)*... Let him finish...*(Interruptions)*...Let him finish.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I can quote at length from the speech of the Minister in the House, made during the last debate. You will have the

passages and you would have seen that passage itself. That is in complete contrast. May be, there is a great strategy of playing a good cop and a bad cop. The Prime Minister is being tough and the Home Minister who has to deal with these people is being compassionate. I am not on that. Sir, the point is that the Prime Minister correctly said that these things should be made clear to all persons who come for negotiations. Sir, Shri Jaswant Singhji is here. He and I were the two persons who in the earlier 80's got to know the Assam students when 700 of them were killed, shot down in cold blood. We used to go to them and they used to come to us. So, we have good information from there. I can tell you from the information that I had that this condition which the Prime Minister prescribed was not made known to the naxalite groups when they were invited for talks and a resectability was conferred on them. And, this is not now only. In 1989, as the same ban was lifted, then, also a Minister—the Andhra Pradesh Members will remember—was killed by the naxalites, and, then, the ban was reimposed. Again, there was a magnanimous gesture, a great gesture by the then Cheif Minister. He released 190 hardcore naxalites, and the same thing is being repeated now. Each time they come out stronger, because each time everyone who comes believes that by pouring syrup over the situation—a syrup of sweet words—you can make them deflect from their clear object.

Sir, that is the problem that I find with the current Government. The same mistake is being made in ULFA now, and it is not a coincidence. Mr.Ramachandraiah pointed it out last time during the debate intervening when the Home Minister was speaking that this had happened immediately after the last elections in Andhra, where he said"an understanding had been reached that this would be done for the naxalites. The apprehension is that all this is now happening with ULFA without that precondition which the Prime Minister had prescribed, and it is happening just on the eve of the next elections that are going to take place. So, Sir, My first suggestion for the consideration of the hon. Home Minister is, please, violence is not due to any of these causes. With regard to this development expenditure, each time our reflex is, throw more money there. Day-before-yesterday, the Home Minister said in the Lok Sabha, 'yes; for every naxalite activity, we are giving Rs. 36 crores more for employment and development.' The fact of the matter is that the only persons who are enthused by this more money being given to a terrorist-driven area are the militant groups, because they will get much of it, contractors, politicians, civil servants and policemen who are in league with them. This is the problem. But our reflex is that we

throw the money and we say, we have done enough work.' Sir, because Mr. Vajpayee asked me to work on the North-East, I have seen the ruinous consequences of this policy in the North-East. Mr. Jagmohan, a Member of this House formerly, has documented this in great deal in regard to Jammu and Kashmir saying that 'it was the Central Government which was financing the militancy there.' So, I beseech the Home Minister, Please, do not continue that pattern again. This violence is spreading because civil and police administration and the criminal justice system in these areas have just evaporated. First, therefore, you must establish the authority of the State in those areas before just pouring in money, and please, give up the illusion that you can sweet talk them out of their objective. Everyone who violates the law must be brought to book by the utmost severity of the law. In Manipur, the same situation is occurring. For months last year, Sir, it was out of the reach of India. It is the same thing now. For 52 days, they were able to blockade a National Highway and nobody could do anything, and all that was done is that 'we will send one or two teams, we will have conversations as those security people will keep talking to each other, and more money will be given in that area.' Sir, my second suggestion is, that to establish the authority of law, you must bring swiftly to a conclusion some of the cases, involving these dons. I mean, it is an absurd thing that in Telgi's case, it is said that the stamp paper racket was—the figures mentioned—of about Rs. 50 crores, and a State Government is able to prevent the CBI from launching an inquiry. So, in the Abu Salem's case and in the cases of dons who are already in your custody and who have been gracious enough to prevent further embarrassment by surrendering themselves, please, bring those cases swiftly to a conclusion.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIAN) in the Chair.]

The third point, Sir, the real problem Mr. Home Minister, is, as you know so well with your experience of administration, at the thana level, unless the police station is strengthened, nothing will happen, and I can assure you that your police outlays are not going to be an indication of that. The fact of the matter is this, and I am sure, you know it yourself because you would have made diligent enquiries in this, that in these affected areas, police stations are being abandoned. The policemen are just abandoning the stations rather than our reconstructing them at that level. So, unless at that level, civil and criminal justice systems and the police stations are restructured, nothing will happen. The other reflex action is—and again there was a reference to this the other day—that so many new battalions are being raised.

4.00 P.M.

Sir, I am sure you know, of the one thousand persons in a battalion, how many are available for operations. It is 350. On the other hand, if you had strength of hundred persons in a police station, then, when an action takes place, other than four or five of them, all of them would be available for action there. And what does the battalion do? In Jehanaband this thing has just been re-enacted. Quite correctly, the Central Government sent Special Forces, the Rapid Action Forces, there. After a week, naturally, they have to be brought back. But the people there have to live in that community. They know that these police forces will go away and the terrorists and naxalites will come back and they have to live with them. So, they submit to them, because there has been no structural change.

I would, therefore, plead with the hon. Home Minister not to go by the outlays on police modernisation and other things given to him by the officers. Please, make your own inquiries about the condition of the police stations and their effectiveness on the ground in these 165 districts.

Sir, there are many other suggestions on keeping up with technology, of not running after the terrorists! That is rather foolish; we have to really overtake them, technically, technologically and tactically. I could give you half a dozen instances—the hon. Home Minister was asking whether I had investigated them—and I have examined them, instances where technologies were denied to security forces. When the AK-47s were first being made visible in terrorist operations in 1987, please, ask what the Punjab Police had requested. We know what happened in the case of snowmobiles. We know that we had been dealing with Siachen warfare since 1984. What happened at the time of Kargil? I am not blaming you; I am saying that the structure is such, the attitude is such. We had that experience even in 1962. Since 1984, we were dealing with Siachen. Since early 1980s we were dealing with high-altitude terrorism in J&K. At the time of Kargil, again, the snow goods were deficient. You have inquired into what has happened to the procurement of bullet-proof jackets and snowmobiles. In each of these cases, which many of us have studied diligently , with great sorrow, it is the attitude, which is the problem. And I would plead with the hon. Home Minister to work on this matter.

Sir, an important point is that much of this is happening not because of naxalites or ULFAS, but because of the local dons and the mafia, which is getting knit in large parts of the country. This nexus has to be broken. The police officers in the case of Prakash Singh said,'Sir, we can't move against this don because we do not know what the Government of the State capital

would tell us to do about it tomorrow.' In the Shahabuddin case, it was the same matter. So, in the case of a nexus—this has to be broken and we are all agreed on this—I would suggest a practical way to begin by dismantling this nexus, and that is, please start releasing, publishing a white paper, that always demands of what you know today of your agencies, about the links of various groups with various persons.'

There is the N.N. Vora Committee Report. He was the Home Secretary and Principle Secretary to the Prime Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Mr. Shourie, your party had thrity minutes.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I would take about ten to fifteen minutes more. It is a very important mattter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): I am not asking you to stop. I am only saying that your party had thirty minutes and you have taken forty-four minutes. How many more minutes would you need? Please, be brief.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I would take another ten minutes and then finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF.P.J. KURIAN): I would permit you another five minutes.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, yesterday, you were kind enough when the issue of flood relief was discussed. My friend, Mr. Venkaiah Nadu had spoken on that.

I was just saying that start by publishing the N.N. Vora Committee Report. That report is not by some foreigner like Volcker. That is not a report written by some renegade from the Soviet empire, who had stolen documents; it is by the former Home Secretary of India, one of the most distinguished civil servants. He has named the linkages and we can see what the result it. I take it that nobody will be embarrassed because nobody of your party or anybody else's party would be there. Therefore, please publish that.

Similarly, Sir, publish the report of the forces on internal security and on border management. Those reports themselves said, please publish these, because it is only when the people realise how alarming the situation is that Governments will be able to get the support they need for carrying through these difficult measures.

Do not just rely, Sir, on throwing development expenditure there. First do an audit of the amounts, which have already been allocated many times like these Rs. 36 crores in districts.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with your permission, I would like to say not more than five sentences. I do appeal to the Home Minister. I will just share two examples. One is, Sir, that very recently a very dear and a friend of old standing, who is a citizen and a prominent political leader of Nepal, came and spent several hours in discussing the internal situation within Nepal, and he made a very telling comment, which I share with the hon. Home Minister and the House because, it in fact, reflects all of the concern which my distinguished colleague and friend, Shri Aurn Shourie, has been saying. He said, "I must, in all sadness, share with you Jaswant that the path that India is following and its approach to Maoists is the path that Nepal earlier followed. Please beware of the path that you are following. Heavens forbid if even a part of India were to go down the path that Nepal is already down on." Secondly, Sir, I do appeal to the Government and the Home Minister that in the matter of handling the northern command of ULFA, it was an international effort, a neighbouring country helped us enormously. And it had His Majesty, the King of Bhutan, personally intervened. He ordered his own son, the crowned Prince, be part of the Armed Forces. I do believe, Sir that it is my function to share what His Majesty had then said. He had said, "Please, I will do this with India shoulder to shoulder. Don't abandon my interests at the subsequent state." By teaming up with ULFA, because then you would be literally throwing Bhutan to the wolf, woes to that effect. He had even then said, "What we are dealing is only the northern command of ULFA. The southern command continues to take shelter in a neighbouring country." If in these circumstances the Government of the day has chosen to call ULFA, when their back is being broken to Delhi, to parley with them, please reflect on the message that you are sending to insurgency all over the country and also to the neighbouring country that have stood by us so stoutly at that time. That is all I wish to say.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : These are very important points which coming from the person who directly dealt with these matters. I am sure that the Home Minister will keep these in mind. Sir, I was on the point of reconstructing things from the bottom, and we must stand by the security personnel—not only of Bhutan, but also of our own security personnel, who fight at the risk of their lives, who try to save the country in spite of us. I would urge that an inquiry be done about the civil administrators and the

magistrates who just fled from the area and did nothing at that time. In J and K, Sir, it is really amazing on my figures. We now have had 35,000 people killed. Do you know how many convictions have been there? It is only fifteen. They too are only for minor offences, not one for any capital sentence. If this is the administration, If this is what has happened, then how do you expect people to fight terrorist who just throw them at the fire? I would think, Sir, that there should be a similar investigation and disclosure to the House about the so-called NGOs that start functioning immediately in areas that get disturbed. In Manipur, there are today a few hundred NGOs. The Home Minister would have a list of them. How was it in Puujab when people were being killed? The whole calumny against the security forces was being done by these so-called human rights organisations.

Who were they, who were financing them, and, what was the basis of the allegations that they were making? And, when it finished, those people disppeared. America will know this. Sir, what happened in Punjab? Now, Sir, you will find that the same situation is being repeated in Manipur to the great cost of demoralisation of our security forces.

Sir, I will also urge the Home Minister to publish a White Paper on the depredations done by these torrorist groups in different States. In Punjab, this was very useful in turning the people against terrorists. When people found by documented cases the girls who had been picked up, the properties that had been bought by the terrorist leaders, then, they turned against them. So, in each area, we should put a task force to gether this information and to publish this, and, then it will also explode the justificatory compassion which is given that all this is due to non-economic development or inequity and so on.

Sir, the Home Minister said, last time, he himself said in this House in this debate that there must be a federal agency for investigation. We are all with you. I know the difficulties of the States. I also know your persuasive path. It is scandalous that in the case of Telgi type of persons, a State Government should really be able to stop a Central agency from beginning the investigation into the matter. How can it be?

Similarly, there should be a joint command, and, I would urge that the law in the Constitution should be amended for these types of areas. I beseech you to review your faith in the mechanism that you were trusting last time. That mechanism is helpless. All it does is meetings. All it does is that they meet again and sanction another study. I will come to the third study that has been done just now on this very matter. Sir, Members were

saying that we should go to Afghanistan. Indian forces should be sent to protect the Indians working there. You cannot take the Indian forces if it were happening in Kerala without the State Government's permission. If terrorism had broken out, you could not send somebody to Manipur when the blockade was there. The local Government cannot let it be seen to be asking you to do something. Also, because many of them are beholden to or in the dread of the terrorist groups. This is the case in two Districts in Arunachal Pradesh. This is the case in Assam. This is the case in Manipur. This has been the case in many parts of India. So, I would urge that we must think of this.

Now, I come to my final point. I will take up the question of Nepal because the hon. Home Minister said that it is affecting the security of the northern areas. There are reports given by intelligence agencies of the increasing coordination between these groups. Now, Sir, what did the Home Minister say? I am quoting from the record, not from the newspaper.

The Home Minister said, "As far as Nepal is concerned, seomething is going on there. It is causing concern to us." I have mentioned it, Mr. Alexander emphasised it. Mr. Alexander was very right that it might have an impact on the situation in our country in certain States. The policy is: we are keeping a watch over it; how to deal with it, we shall decide. The Nepal Government has to take a decision and take the action also. As to how we can protect our interest in our territory, we are seeing to it.

Now, Sir, a more clear enunciation of policy was not possible. That is continuing to be the situation. But many friends have preached democracy to the King of Nepal. A delegation also went to preach democracy there. And, what did he do? He just was the most enthusiastic is asking China being admitted to SAARC. And, we have got a python on our trail. This is the exact situation. Just see, what the reports now say. We said, "No arms to Nepal", and, it is China that has sent 40 truckloads of arms. That list has been released by the Indian intelligence agencies day before yesterday; you can find it in yesterday's papers.

This is the exact situation, Sir, that happened in Myanmar. We followed the lead of Western Governments in giving them lectures on democracy and bycotting them, and Myanmar went to China; China embraced it and today Myanmar is a dependency of China and a grave security threat to us, the developments there. So, why are we repeating this in Nepal? The worse thing is about Pakistan—and I will end with that and with one remark on Bangladesh because both these matters were mentioned by the Home Minister last time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Be brief and conclude it now.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Yes, Sir, The Home Minister said just see these remarks in the light of what has heppened last year, in these Delhi bomb blasts. people were saying whether, in Kutty's case, Pakistan was involved or not. Just see how compassionate the Home Minister and understanding he was. He said, on Pakistan, "Sir, the Foreign Minister have met. The Secretary-level meetings are taking place, as always. The DG-level meetings are also taking place. The Statements have been made from the othter side of the border that they will not allow their territory to be used. That statement has been made. Yet, we do think that terrorist activities are taking place". Now, just see, we would not fully blame the Government, because even if they express their intention, probably, they have not been able to put it into practice effectively and not been able to curb the actual terrorist activities there. it is some time difficult also. Now, with this sort of understanding attitude...

SHRI ARUN JAITELY: Benefit of doubt...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Not only it is a benefit of doubt, my friend Arun says, the difficulty is that each time there is a blast—just now this has happened in Delhi—figure was being quoted. Ahluwaliaji was saying, 62 persons were killed. What was the Statement? "Maybe, Pakistan is not involved". They are this ...(*Interruptions*)... we will not allow...(*Interruptions*)...just one second...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Please tell us who said, "Pakistan is not involved"?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: You tell us whether it was involved.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: No, no. That is why I am asking. Nobody has said that. You wanted to get that make from us. We said that when you are saying that this could have been done by them, it is not necessary for us to say this. But, who gave a clean chit to Pakistan? Let us know. Why should we misrepresent these facts on the floor of the House, and outside also, in this fashion and in such a brilliant manner?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Let me quote the exact sentence.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am asking. I am trying to understand, who said this. First of all, I ask Mr. Arun Shourie, you have made very good points and I hope you will be present in the House to hear my reply to your

points. Otherwise, you will be replying to this debate in the third debate, which we may have. I would request you to be here. But, the first time you quoted my speech which was wrongly quoted. Now, you are saying that somebody said that the Pakistan is not involved. I am trying to understand who said it.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, the exact sentence which I have about Pakistan is—assume that you did not say...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: None of us has said so. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Home Minister nor the Home Secretary nor any other responsible person has said so.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Actually, the substantive point which I wanted to make was a different one. The sentence which you would not dispute...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Please, try to conclude it now.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: The sentences is, "Terrorism will not be allowed to affect the peace process". This gives a *carte blanche* to Pakistan to do these things through terrorist groups and also puts the onus on India to continue the peace process. This is the problem that is happening again and again. They are pursuing a clear policy. If the Home Minister is so kind to reply, I will ask a specific question. In my view, Pakistan is pursuing a clear objective, to acquire Kashmir, which is what they have been doing for these 55 years. Now, what is our objective? What is the ultimate solution we have in mind? do we stand by—I am asking a very specific question—does the Government stand by the Parliament's unanimous Resolution that only unfinished business that is left for us is to reacquire Pok?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Now, please conclude it.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: The last point, Sir. let us see whether that is the case or not. The last point is on Bangladesh. On Bangladesh, as I have mentioned to you, all the Task Forces have said, since then the Supreme Court has said, that the IMDT Act is a ruinous Act. We would be very delighted to be educated as to whether you stand by that Act. You have said that all there are very good recommendations and you will implement them. Now, the Supreme Court has also said this. Your present Governor of Utter Pradesh, Shri T.V. Rajeshwar, sent a series of reports to

the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the President, when he was the Governor of West Bengal. It says that the danger is that the third Islamic country is going to be carved out of India. He gave details for this. As he got no response, he wrote about it in the *Hindustan Times*. He sent me the articles.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am very sorry. You are mentioning that a Governor has made such a statement.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: He was the Governor of ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: He is not here to defend himself, and we generally don't refer to the President and...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN JAITELY: Sir, he is not making an allegation against...(*Interruptions*)...He is only quoting it...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: There are the Constitutional Authorities. We don't have to put the words in the mouth of the Constitutional Authorities, namely, the President, the Vice-President, the Speaker, and the Governors.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Another Governor of Assam...(*Interruptions*)...gave a special report to the President on the dangers that would be inflicted by infiltration. Your present Governor-General, Mr. Ajai Singh, gave another report in the Governors' Conference and all that you did was to ask him to do another study. I have got that study. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Whether it is a Governor ...(*Interruptions*)...should not be mentioned. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Kerala): Sir, I have a point of order under Rule 238. It is very clear here. he cannot quote persons in high authority. The explanation is given here. it says, "the words "persons in high authority" mean persons whose conduct can only be discussed on a substantive motion drawn in proper terms...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, it is not an allegation. He has published articles...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, he is a Constitutional Authority. The ruling is very clear.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, he has published articles, not in the *Indian Express* but in the *Hindustan Times*. Not one article, but in three

series....(*Interruptions*)...Shri T.V. Rajeshwar wrote these articles and was kind enough to sent them to me.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Then we will go by what you say here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Please, don't quote the Governor or the President. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: I am sorry, Sir, that is not the correct reading of the Rule. Sub-Rule (v) of the Rule 238 says, "A member while speaking shall not reflect upon the conduct of persons in high authority unless the discussion is based on a substantive motion drawn in proper terms." Mr. Arun Shourie is not reflecting upon the conduct of a Governor. He is agreeing with the Governor and quoting him. He cannot be stopped from doing that.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I would like to say that he is touching upon such an issue, which can be interpreted in different manners. And when that is done, the Governor's position becomes controversial. These provisions are made in order to protect the Constitutional Authorities.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Prof. P. J. KURIAN): How do you authenticate this quotation? Please, tell me. Let me ask you one question. You are saying that it is not a question of conduct. You are saying something, which, you say the Governor has said. How do you authenticate it?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I will tell you. It was because of great kindness of Mr. T.V. Rajeshwar, who we will not say what he is today. He was very kind to send me his own articles with the specially written post-script for me as to what happened as a result.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): First you authenticate that article and then quote.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, it is a published article in the *Hindustan Times*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): No, that is again the problem. That means you are depending upon the *Hindustan Times*. The Chairman has already given the ruling that when you quote from newspapers, it should have been authenticated. You should take the responsibility. That is the ruling given by the Chairman.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: That the newspaper has published it is the only responsibility. We cannot go ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Now, please, conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Shourie, for your information, I would like to tell you that your party time was thirty minutes and you have already taken one hour. Please, conclude. There are other two speakers. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, half the time, the Home Minister was speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): No, no. He did not speak. He only sought some clarifications. Please conclude now.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I will finish in two sentences. I am very happy that as a result of a very high-level meeting, the concerned persons whom I shall not name because of their high offices were asked to do the seventh study on the ruinous impact of infiltration and this study is even more reliable and has been sent to even higher office because it relies not only on the previous six studies but also on my work and quotes it verbatim without acknowledgement. So, Sir, my conclusion is, Home Minister *Sahib,* we recognise your transparent sincerity, we recognise your concern and the Prime Minister's concern for this situation. I plead with you, it is my genuine assessment that in spite of you, all that is happening is that we are going through the motions, the same motions that have been gone through for decades and the situation is becoming worse and worse. We should attend to the types of things that I have given or I have mentioned and I will again await one year later the written response which the Home Minister had promised last time. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIAN): Now, Shri Vayalar Ravi.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Thank you, Sir. I believe, Sir, our discussion which I was hearing, especially my friend Shri Arun Shourie, mainly confines to the Naxalite activities in India rather than getting into the details of the internal security scenario. Sir, it says, Short Duration discussion by so and so to raise a discussion on the internal security scenario in the country. When I was hearing Mr. Shourie, I felt that the only problem in the internal security is the Naxalite activities in this country or a picture like that. I disagree with him on that point. Moreover, to say briefly, Mr. Arun Shourie was accusing and putting a finger on the Home Minister for not tackling the Naxalite activities including the armed attacks on certain policemen and persons and he is not taking steps to prevent it. Luckily he replied to that point also in the last portion of his speech. He said that the State Governments failed and the Home Minister could not do. So, the Naxalite

activities are purely a State subject. He himself knows. I am not blaming him or his Prime Minister or his Home Minister who is supposed to be the 'Iron Man'. He never intervened in the States and put paramilitary forces to attack or to control the Naxalites. He never done it. Constitutionally, he can't do it. But as the case made out here by Mr. Shourie is that the Home Minister of India is expected to intervene in every State and face the Naxalites, attack them or to control them or to finish them off. I believe my understanding of the Constitution is as good as Mr. Arun Shourie's. But I don't know why he made such a suggestion. Now, the other point Mr. shourie made surprised me regarding the Resolution of Parliament for the united Jammu and Kashmir, that the occupied Kashmir must be part of India. I don't know what Mr. Vajpayee, Mr. Arun Shourie and Mr. Yashwant Sinha were doing for the last six years. They could have done it. They mobilised the Indian Army; they mobilised the whole Indian Army on the border and withdrawn after two weeks because Clinton told them to withdraw. I don't want to go into that subject now. Sir, I will deal with the Naxalite issue later, but it is not an issue of recent occurrence. Mainly the point is: Is it a recent occurrence? The Naxalities are there since 1967. And for the last one decade, these activities have increased. They are the people who challenge the Constitution, I agree. They defy the law. But they get the protection of the Constitution also. They use the Fundamental Rights; they use the human rights and many things. Sir, have a look at the Indian scenario today. While the Congress Government was there, of course, there was some kind of a project, some kind of coordination and everything, but thereafter for the last one decade or more, the scenario changed altogether. Different Governments have come in different parts. Sir, for example, take Andhra Pradesh. Your know, sir, our own MLA, Shri Narsi Reddy has been shot dead.

Thereafter, the then Home Minister of the State, Shri Madhav Reddy, a TDP leader, was shot dead.

Even the former Chief Minister, Shri Chandrababu Naidu, was attacked and he scrapped through miraculously by God's blessings. This is the state of affairs. The same thing is happening in different States. As far as Orissa is also concerned, it is infected by Naxalites. Bihar is also infected by Naxalites. This has become like a crescent. You start from Bihar and go up to Nepal. But some political changes are there. Different political parties have come to power. They have a different approach to the Naxalite problem. What can the Central Government do? This is a matter to be tackled by all. My suggestion, as Shri Arun Shourie has suggested, is, let all the

political parties, all the forces, to put their mind together. Instead of blaming each other, why can't we think in terms of that? Instead of doing that, making all the accusations against the Home Minister of India, I believe, is not justifiable. I don't know why Shri Arun Shourie resorted to such a virulent attack on him.

Now, I come to the Resolution and the discussion on internal security. Shri Arun Shourie has mentioned about the Delhi blast. Yes, it happened. The recent incident of bomb blasts in the markets is the most tragic inhuman attack on innocent civilians. It has been condemned by the whole world. But what I could infer from what I read in the newspapers was that when President Musharraf called our Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, he very strongly condemned it. The media reported that our Prime Minister told him that this was not the way to do the things and he could not escape the responsibility. He told President Musharraf this directly, on his face, on the telephone. That is what the Prime Minister of India did.

Sir, an attack on the Parliament had happened. We are sitting in this Parliament now. Many of us are lucky enough to sit here today because of the valiant, brave and heroic act of the Watch and Ward Staff and the police personnel. In a split of a second, if one person could get into the lobby and get into the Central Hall of the Parliament, we can imagine what would have happened. Who was the Prime Minister at that time? Who was the Prime Minister sitting here? It was Shri Vajpayee who was the Prime Minister. How did it happen? You must answer this question. How did it happen? Is it because of the intelligence failure? You please tell us, "Yes, we failed". But you can't say that you failed. This kind of an incident happened instead of an earlier warning. But no steps were taken. I should say that it is a shame to the Indian people. It is a shame bestowed on the Indian people by allowing the terrorists to get a chance to attack the Indian Parliament, the citadel of democracy and the political leadership of this country. Yet, they want to blame us, as if the blasts occurred all of a sudden in the Sarojini Nagar market and other places. You must understand the reality. The NDA leaders should understand the reality that it was part of a game which a terrorist group stationed in Pakistan. They are stationed in Pakistan. They are patronised by Pakistan. They are financed by Pakistan. They have done it. That is why we have to do certain dialogue, as well as, take a touch position. Both the things have to be done. You were in power. Shri Arun Shourie, your Government was there. What did you do in those days? You look at your own period. I will only give one or two instances. Apart from the Parliament attack, there was...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, I am on a point of order .. *(Interruptions)*..I will refer to the subject. The subject is "to raise a discussion on the internal security scenario in the country". Of course, this is not on what happened four years ago or five years ago. It is on the current security situation in the country. .. *(Interruptions)*..He has to confine himself to the current security situation. .. *(Interruptions)*..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIAN): I will deal with it. .. (Interruptions)..Shri Pany, please sit down .. *(Interruptions)*..

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, he has to confine himself to the current security situation. .. *(Interruptions)*.. I think the spirit in which Shri Arun Shourie initiated the debate will be completely marred if this kind of.... *(Interruptions)*..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIAN): Shri Sinha, please. *(Interruptions)*....

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: ...allegations and counter-allegations do take place. *(Interruptions)*... Then we will talk about the last 40 years. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIAN): Now, you have made your point. This debate is on internal security scenario in the country. Certainly, the hon. Member can refer to the past incidents, according to his perception. *(Interruptions)*. When your turn comes, you can reply to that. Mr. Ravi, please proceed.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Then let it be recorded that this is a ruling from the Chair that you can go back into the hoary past and recall all the incidents which have taken place concerning internal security in this country. *(Interruptions)*. Then we will ask our next speaker to speak on that. He will not deal with the current situation. He will deal with the situations when the Congress Governments were in power. *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIAN): Please sit down. Whatever the hon. Member thinks concerns the internal security in the country, he has full freedom to speak. I am not here to control that. If you think he has spoken something more, you can reply to that. I cannot sit on the judgement..*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, I cannot challenge your ruling. I am a disciplined Member of the House. But I can only say that I am very surprised.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: My intention is not to accuse anybody. But when somebody is sitting in a glasshouse and stoning others, I have to remind him that he is sitting in a glasshouse. That is what I am doing. As I have already said, the terrorist groups are stationed in Pakistan and they are patronised by Pakistan. How do you deal with them? Mr. Shourie was very angry and was accusing the Home Minister that he was failing on all the fronts. But how has it happened? That is the point. The major question is, how to treat the terrorists. He was talking about how to treat the Naxalites who are Indian citizens. But what about the foreign citizens? The terrosits, who were in jail, had to be released when the IC-814 was hijacked and taken to Kandahar. Shri Jaswant Singh, who is the Leader of the Opposition in this House, was the Minister at that time. He accompanied them to Kandahar and released them. Why did it happen? I am not going into that. But the question is of dealing with the terrorists who are stationed in Pakistan. The point is, you had surrendered before their demands and released the dreaded terrorists. Sir, there is a book written by one of their colleagues, called "Attack on Akshardham". Very interestingly, this book says..

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Have you investigated the book? *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: It is a published book. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Have you made an inquiry into It? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, are we discussing the present internal security scenario or whatever has happened right from 1947 onwards?

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: The Chair has already given the ruling. ..*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: If you want to discuss everything that has happened after 1947, there are many books and many other things which can be quoted..*(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIAN): Are you on a point of order?..*(Interruptions)*. There is no point of order. Please sit down...*(Interruptions)*. Please resume your seat.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN In The Chair)

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, my point is he is not speaking on the subject. *(Interruptions)*. Let him conclude *(Interruptions)*... Then anybody

will stand up and ask, "why Shrimati Indira Gandhi was killed? Why Operation Blue Star had taken place? Why did '84 riots take place? Who is responsible for that? *(Interruptions)*. Then all these things will come.

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: आप इस तरह अगर बात करेंगे, तो हमारे पास भी बहुत सारे मुद्दे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: पाणि जी, आपके लीडर बात कर रहे हैं आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Sir, he is got his own views. *(Interruptions)*.

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: सर, यह राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा, आंतरिक सुरक्षा के ऊपर बहस चल रही है। अब अगर 1947 से चर्चा करनी है तो बता दीजिए हम भी करें। ...(व्यवधान)... इससे तो इतनी बात होगी कि एक दूसरे पर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप लगेगा, चलता रहेगा।

श्री उपसभापति: ठीक है, आप बैठिए।

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I have a point of order. Rule 176 in respect of Short Duration Discussion states, "Any Member desirous of raising a discussion on a matter of urgent public importance...." Now, is Kandahar a matter of urgent public importance in this House? *(Interruptions)*. Is it today? *(Interruptions)*. Is it a matter of urgent public importace to the country today? *(Interruptions)*. This is too much Sir, I want your ruling...

श्री उपसभापति: अगर सब बैठें तो मैं कुछ कह सकता हूं।

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: हां-हां, बताइए-बताइए। कंट्रोल कीजिए इन पर।

श्री उपसभापति: आप शुरू कीजिए, श्री रवि।

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: The question here is the security threat of the terrorists. The question here is whether terrorism can be contained or not. And, this pertains to the present Government as well as the previous Government. Naturally, the question arises as to whether the terrorists had been pampered or not. I am saying how the terrorists were dealt with three or four years ago. This Government has just come. But Mr. Arun Shorie has made out a case as if it is only after the Manmohan Singh Government came to power, that the Naxalite activities have emerged; that the terrorist activities started and that the bombing activities started. I have to tell them, "No; you failed. When you were in Your Government, you failed." I am quoting...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now that you have quoted, you can proceed..(*Interruptions*) Mr. Vayalar Ravi, you can proceed...(*Interruptions*) मिस्टर बागड़ोदिया, आप बैठिए। ..(व्यवधान) आप बैठिए। ..(व्यवधान) आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... ...(व्यवधान)...Mr. Narayanasamy, please sit down ...(*Interruptions*) ...पाणि जी, आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... आप क्या कह रहे हैं, वह रिकार्ड में नहीं जा रहा है। ...(व्यवधान)... कुछ नहीं रिकार्ड में जा रहा है, क्यों बोल रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान) ...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, I am on a different issue. Please listen to me...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How can I listen? Under what rule? (*Interruptions*) पाणि जी, आप बैठिए। (व्यवधान) बैठिए, बैठिए। (व्यवधान) कुछ नहीं जाएगा रिकार्ड में क्यों तकलीफ करते हैं। (व्यवधान) Shri Vayalar Ravi has yielded.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I just want to say one thing for your attention and, through you, to the attention of the entire House. When we are having a debate of such an important subject, ...*(Interruption)* Please don't interrupt..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Ahluwalia, he has yielded...*(Interuptions)*

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Please, Ahluwaliaji, have some tolerance ...(*Interputions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: What tolerance? (Interruptions)

श्री उपसभापति: आप दोनों उठकर खड़े हो जाते हैं, चेयर को कुछ समझ में नहीं आता है कि क्या बोल रहे हैं।

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, when Arun Shourieji spoke, we were not interrupting him. It is becoming a trend that when this side speaks, there are constant interruptions. It is not a healthy trend. When this side also starts to do the same thing, there will be only weakened debates.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, You have made your point. (Interruptions) आप बैठिए, आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... थोड़े समय ही ये सब चीजें अच्छी दीखती हैं।

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, I wish they shall not be afraid of the facts. I am quoting a very important quotation from a book which they can challenge.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ravi, you can make passing reference, because internal security is very important. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I understand what they think about the internal security scenario. 'The terrorist attack came from the Delhi blast.' What I am reminding them is, it has not come on a fine morning. It is continuing for some time. Even this Parliament was attacked; even the Akshardham Temple was attacked; even our plane was hijacked. So, it shows how these terrorist activities are going on for many years. Why did they not agitate about it at that time? when you quote some very serious incident here. I would condemn it in the strongest possible words, but don't take political mileage by pointing a finger to the Home Ministry and this Government. This is the point I am making. *(Interruptions)* Sir, the terrorists were dealt with very strongly by every Government. But, the previous Government did not do that. This is the point I am making. They took the terrorists in a plane and released them. What they said at that time is this," Jaswant Singh, after returning to New Delhi with the freed hostages praised the Taliban for handling the crisis well, despite considerable evidence to show that the Taliban was behind the hijacking of the plane *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, what is he quoting here? *(Interruptions)* It is the distorted portion of ...*(Interruptions)*... what is this? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not quoting it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, if somebody makes a noise, it is not my problem ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि : आप बोलते रहिए, बोलते रहिए , ...(व्यवधान)... इससे तो ऐसा लगता है कि ...(व्यवधान) ...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I am not making a noise. I am telling you and cautioning you...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: He cautioned me, Sir. He is threatening me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no; he is your friend ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, one thing should be decided in this House by you. First, in what manner a debate has to be conducted whether a Member who is speaking has to be constantly heckled. It happened to me the other day; it is happening to Raviji. Secondly, Sir, when Shri Ravi is quoting something , he has every right to quote it. The mover of the Motion in the Volcker Committee Report debate quoted a fictional book of somebody who is dead and no more on this earth. ...*(Interruptions)*... if that was allowed, then, Mr. Ahluwalia should not have any objection...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anand Sharma, please sit down.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Then, Mitrokhin will be discussed, don't worry.

...*(Interruptions)*... we will discuss that ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir , he cannot be heckled like this. ...*(Interruptions)*... They cannot heckle like this...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Sir, they are constantly interrupting.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Narayanasamy , Please sit down.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : Sir, Mr. Ravi is a Member of this House. He should be allowed to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... why are they objecting when he is quoting something?...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Narayanasamy, you need not defend Mr. Vayalar Ravi. He is competent enough to defend himself ...*(Interruptions)*... why are you defending him?...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You are suffocating this House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: No; you are feeling suffocated ...*(Interruptions)*... you are feeling suffocated. Come out. Why don't you quote from the interview of Pradeep. The Army Commander of PWG? You quote what they have said...*(Interruptions)*... You people had aligned with them in the elections in Andhra Pradesh...*(Interruptions)*... you quote what you have done....*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record. All right, you go on ...*(Interrupting)*... and the debate will ...*(Interruptions)*... what is this? आप जरा खामोश रहिए ...(व्यवधान)... Mr. Vayalar Ravi will not say anything which pleases you, and you will not say what pleases him. You will try to

say what you want to say on the internal security. Definitely, during discussion, each political party will have to say something against the other political party. One has to bear that. I agree, in the reference, if a Member refers something, the Chair cannot go on saying, 'no,no; you cannot refer to it, it is very difficult'. That should not be the subject matter of discussion. In a reference, one can definitely refer to it, but it should not become the main subject matter; under Rule 176 we are discussing the internal security. If any Member from this side or that side quotes certain precedent, you should not get disturbed. ...(व्यवधान)... आप सब खामोश रहेंगे मैं अहलुवालिया जो को देख लूंगा। ...(व्यवधान)... मैं देखता रहूंगा। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: सर, मैं क्या आपको दीख नहीं रहा हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, I do have a basic difference with Mr. Arun Shourie. In the one hour speech, he mainly spoke on the naxal activities. This is not the only terrorist activity in India and I disagree with him. There are other forms of terrorisms in the country. There is cross-border terrorism. Pakistan-sheltered terrorism has come over here and it has even attacked our national pride, Parliament House. The latest was the attack on the crowded places during the Dussehra festivities. We have discussed these things many times. This is a matter of concern. I can understand Mr. Arun Shourie's main concern--- about those who defy the Constitution, those who challenge the Constitution and those who do not obey the law. That is more of a State-subject. Law and order cannot be equated with internal security. Law and order is a part of internal security. (*Interruptions*) Unfortunately...(*Interruptions*)

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: सर ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, please sit down. Should Mr. Vayalar Ravi take all the points of his speech from you? *(Interruptions)*

मि॰ अहलुवालिया जी, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)...

Please sit down, Mr. Ahluwalia. *(Interruptions)* I appeal to the House to...*(Interruptions)* आप खामोश रहिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

When I am on my legs, what is this? (*Interruptions)* Is this the decorum? Please sit down. (*Interruptions*) मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हम सीरियस नहीं हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... हम सीरियस नहीं हैं इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी डिस्कशन करने को। अगर आप इंटरप्ट करते रहे लोग नहीं सुन पाएं, इस पार्लियामेंट में हम इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी डिस्कस कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया : गलत बात थोड़ी बोल रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : आप खामोश रहिए, आप सीनियर मेंबर हैं। मुझे रूल्स में बता दीजिए कि क्या चेयर को यह पॉवर है कि वह किसी के ख्यालात को इंटरप्ट करती रहेगी, कि यह गलत बात है, यह गलत बात है, गलत बात है या आप मुझे इस रूल्स बुक में यह बतला दीजिए कि आपको यह ऑथरिटी दी गई है, इंडिविज्युअल मेंबर को यह ऑथरिटी दी गई है कि वह इंडीविज्युअल मेंबर को इंटरप्ट करे । इसमें अगर है तो मैं मानता हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया : इस किताब में तो बहुत कुछ नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : श्री नीलोत्पल बासु जी, आप बैठ जाइये। मैं इसका जवाब देता हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

When I am saying something ...*(Interruptions)*...Mr. Narayanasamy, you also follow the rules. ...*(Interruptions)*... When the Chair is on his legs, no Member should get up. ...*(Interruptions)*...You are also standing....*(Interruptions)*... You have no right to object to others if you yourself do not follow the rules. ...*(Interruptions)*...If you break the rules, you have no right to tell about it to others. ...*(Interruptions)*... देखिये, जब आप खड़े होंगे, तो मैं कहूंगा ...(व्यवधान)... Chair cannot direct a Member to speak this or speak that or not to speak this or not to speak that....*(Interruptions)*... This is Parliament and Members will criticise one another. ...*(Interruptions)*...We have to bear with it. ...*(Interruptions)*... We should listen to the criticism and when an opportunity comes you refute it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : I am not referring to the Rule Book. ...*(Interruptions)*... I just want to supplement your apeal with one point. If I have given offence, I would certainly make mends for that. My whole refrain was that it is not my case that something is happening because of this Government or any previous Government. I deliberately chose examples from across the States, which are ruled even by the BJP such as Jharkhand or Orissa ruled by our ally. For that reason I began by saying that it is no answer for anyone to say that it happened in your time, last time. The interpretation that Naxalism has increased in the last six months, it is not the case. The refrain in one sentence was that there is a decline in the hands and feet of governance and that is resulting in that situation of which the Home Minister and all of us are concerned. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I request all the Members just to develop a habit of listening to criticism of one another. Let us not react in such a

way as if Chair is not there to regulate. ...*(Interruptions)*... You should take the opportunity to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI : Sir, when we are talking of internal security scenario, the law and order situation is a part of it. At the same time, the problem of cross-border terrorism is also equally important as the problem of Naxalite movement is. Naxalite movement is by Indian citizens. Their cause is different. What I am trying to say is that Mr. Arun Shourie is confining his emphasis only on the Naxalite activities rather than touching other aspects of the internal security. There is also a contention that the Government of India should amend the Constitution and act directly from Delhi. That is his suggestion and he went on to explain it. I am not quarrelling on that. My point is a little different. My point is that one of the results of cross-border terrorism has been the bomb explosions in Delhi recently. It has not come for the first time or it is growing now only. It has already been there. They went to such an extent that they forced the Government to release some of the terrorists. They went to that extent.

5.00 P.M

Then there was dialogue with Pakistan by the previous Government. Of course, this Government is also doing it. We want to build a broad national consensus on this issue. What does the nation want? The whole nation wants peace. So, apart from Naxalite problem, there are other problems also. Mr. Shourie was referring to murders here and there and talking about the law and order situation. That is a different issue. Let us look at the whole situation. I do not want to go into that controversy. He should look at the whole situation. I am not at all referring to the failure of the previous Government and what the terrorists were doing earlier or what happened in the Kargil War or other such incidents. But when you are pointing a finger against the present Government, you must understand the sincerity on the part of the present Government. All efforts have been made by this Government. The Government even refused to have dialogue after some incidents. But peace process is there. People of India want peace. The peace process with Pakistan has not come up all of a sudden. The previous Government started the peace process.

But the Government said even this. What did the Prime Minister say? After the incident of bomb explosion our Prime Minister said, "these kinds of cowardly activities will not deter the people of India from the determination to face this challenge". We can see the determination of the Prime Minister or this Government in this effort or

this activity and the people of India have shown a united effort. We can see the unity in this. Sir, the hon. Member spoke about naxalites. Mr. Shourie's argument is that it is a terrorist activity. Let me differ with him honestly. They are defying the Constitution, challenging the Constitution, they are defying the law of the land and they are getting protection. That is a different matter. But the dialogue is inevitable. I can say, Sir, even in the past. Sir, North-East and Manipur have been mentioned here by Mr. Shourie. When I went to Assam in the 60s there was no such disturbance. It was not there. And thereafter because of the insurgent movements have come in different areas, the dialogue initiated by the then Government and different States have been formed. I can say that even when the Rajiv Government had a dialogue and an agreement with the student movement in Assam, the Congress resigned and made room for them to do whatever they wanted to do. In Mizoram, the same thing happened. In the provious Government, one of the Ministers had a dialogue with the insurgents of Nagaland. We never blamed you. We never blamed you. That is a good process. So the insurgents have to be taught. So, in the North-Eastern States this is going on for the last many years and this dialogue has to give some kind of a credibility. In Assam also, with ULFA something happened. Shri Jaswant Singh said something. My point is, whether we deal with them with guns and barrels, or, deal with them physically, of course, to some extent, but a dialogue is necessary. I believe the Government of India, the Congress regime has said that a dialogue is also inevitable, a dialogue especially for our own people, the tribals, the poor people. Who are they? Where is their land ? Where is their food? There are many, many issues raised by the naxalite movement which deserve the attention of the Government and the people of this country. We are not approving their armed rebellion. We are not approving. In Kerala also, once upon a time there was no naxalite movement. We are not approving that. At the same time, we cannot ignore the cry of the poor people over the threat. That is why I say; I differ with Mr. Arun Shourie who raised the issue on certain points. Today what is happening? Today, Sir, the State is already mentioned. I also mentioned what happened to the Chief Ministers and you see the situation. We have to deal with them on two fronts. That we are doing. Earlier, we had done in North-East. Now, Sir, you take up the issue of the intention of the terrorist groups which resorted to the bomb blast in Delhi. They are failing in Kashmir. They could not make much of an impact with all these killings, all these activities. The people of Kashmir against all the threat of killing went for elections. They won the elections;

they showed the people; we believe in democracy; we want our own Government. So they are a little frustrated. So what do they do? They want to infiltrate into other parts of the country and face some explosion here and there thinking that they can create a communal frenzy in this country. They want to create a communal tension, a communal divide. They failed. The terrorist activities completely failed because the people of this country, irrespective of whatever religion they are showed that we are a nation. We unitedly fought them back. That is why our Prime Minister said earlier that there is not a single Indian in the terrorist group. We can very proudly say in this Parliament. Our Prime Minister declared to the World, there are terrorist groups which come and attack us. The cause for terrorism is there. But our Prime Minister declared that none of them is my countrymen. That is the greatness of this country, the greatness of our people because we could face the challenge.

An article appeared in *The Week*. Very interestingly it says that the leader of Le'T declared that India should be divided into three parts. It is his imagination. So, the intention of the terrorist group is this. But, we have shown that it cannot be done.

So, Sir, I am concluding with only one appeal. I agree that terrorist activities are a national menace. It needs a national approach. It needs a united approach from all political forces in this country. The people of this country have shown that they are not worried and they are not going to kowtow or be threatened by these activities because we are Indians in the true sense. That is why I say you just see the attitude of the people of this country. They stand united. So, why cannot we be united and face this challenge? That is why I am saying that, as far as naxalism is concerned, I cannot agree with him. I don't know whether his opinion is the stand of his party to amend the Constitution and to give powers to the Central Government, intervene into the domain of States and takeover the law and order situation. I don't know what is the approach of the BJP on this matter. I don't want to enter into the controversy now. But, at the same time, before concluding I should say that this Government has taken every step to face the threat of naxalism. What has happened in Delhi cannot be written off. Because we already could identify the people, put our fingers on them. I am not accusing anybody that they could not find people on earlier instances. But, this Government is doing everything with all seriousness. I disagree with the internal security scenario, as has been projected by my friend, Mr. Arun Shourie because that is based on

instances happened here and there and based on them he wanted to say that everything has gone down. I believe, it is contrary to the fact. The hon. Home Minister can explain it more. I believe that this Government is very seriously pursuing dialogue on one side and on the other we will try our best to have better relations with Pakistan. At the same time, it is our approach as has been said by the hon. Prime Minister to Mr. Musharraf over telephone that we would not tolerate terrorism. That is the attitude of this Government. This is the strength of this Government and the support from the people of this country will further strengthen this attitude. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, Mr. Vijayaraghavan. I would like to remind the hon. Members that this debate has to be concluded by 6.00 p.m. Kindly confine to the time allotted to your respective parties. You know the time allotted to your party. We have to complete this debate early. So, please adhere to the time allotted.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN (Kerala) : Sir, this House, I think, third time in a year is discussing the serious issue relating to the internal security of the country.

Sir, the escalating terrorist activities and attacks on innocent people are increasing day-by-day. In the month of October, there were some attacks in Srinagar in which there was an attempt to murder a leader of the CPI(M), Shri Yusuf Tarigami, who is taking an initiative for the peace process in Kashmir. His contribution is great in trying to resolve the issue. There was an attempt to kill Mr. Tarigami, but his bodyguard was killed. Similarly, in the month of November, within 48 hours *i.e.*, on 15th and 16th of November, there were four terrorist attacks and bomb attacks and almost claimed the life of the senior PDP leader, Shri Ghulam Asan Mir and the former Minister, Mr. Osman Majid, was injured. There was a fidayeen attack in the heart of Srinagar. And, there was an ambush on the convoy of the CRPF in Kashmir. So, Sir, within 48 hours, there were four attacks in and around Srinagar city.

Then, two days later, some tragic incidents occurred in the Capital. This is the gravity of the situation. Who are the victims of these attacks? The victims are the poor, innocent civilians. So, this is a very important point that we have to discuss and resolve. This menace has been increasing for the last two decades, that is, since 1980 onwards. And, we could not resolve the issue. We are all aware of the reasons behind such attacks.

The other side of the border is helping in these activities of terrorism. There is no doubt in it. But there should be proper approach from the Government side. When we oppose terrorism, there should be a partisan approach. What is the root cause behind these activities of terrorism? There are problems in the State of Jammu & Kashmir, and these are unemployment, backwardness, etc. So, these issues have to be taken note of. And the issue of more autonomy to Jammu & Kashmir has also to be taken note of. We have to move in a direction to restore the faith in the people of Jammu & Kashmir. Secondly, we have to make it clear to Pakistan as to what our stand is in this regard. Thirdly, Sir, there are forces, the imperialist forces, which are supporting the terrorists.The Government will have to make its stand clear in this regard to these imperialist forces, which are trying to help the terrorist elements. All these things will have to be taken note of. I would like to caution the Government that the militant outfits, like, the *Lashkar-e-Toiba* or *Jaish-e-Mohammad* or any other terrorist organization have no intention to stop their war against India. So, we must be careful. There has been intelligence failure, when the incidents took place in Delhi and other places. So, this House owes an explanation from the Home Minister on these incidents.

Then, Sir, I come to naxalism and insurgency. It is a fact that there was merger of two naxalite outfits – the MCC and the Peoples War Group. After this merger and formation of the CPM (Maoists), the number of attacks has increased. Just before the incident of Jahanabad ...(*Interruptions*). It's a signal. Thousands of people gathered and attacked the jail. The person who led this mob was from Andhra Pradesh. He not only took away the leader of naxalite movement, but also kidnapped the leader of Ranvir Sena from the jail. What is the signal that is being sent? And, this is not an isolated incident. Before this incident, on 11th November, there was an attack on Home Guard Training Centre at Girth, in Bihar. Three hundred people were involved in this attack. And, they had taken away 185 rifles. Before that, there was an attack in Madhubani, which is also in Bihar. So, a number of naxalite attacks has taken place. Similarly, a route has also emerged, spread over 76 districts across 9 States. However, as per the estimation of the Home Ministry it is spread over 125 districts or so, right from Dandakarnaya region of Andhra Pradesh to Bihar, some parts of Bengal and Jharkhand. Nowadays, it is over a big area. And, these are mostly tribal areas, the backward areas. So, the most backward tribal areas have become a haven for naxalites. As per an estimate of the Ministry of Home Affairs, there are 9,800 hardcore underground cadres.

They hold around 6,500 regular weapons besides a large number of unlicensed country-made arms. The naxalite infrastructure includes sophisticated weapons such as Kalshanikov rifles and Claymore landmines, modern wireless equipment. It is almost like an army. So, their force is increasing. Attacks are mounting. So, what would be the approach of this Government? The striking power of the naxalite movement and insurgents has been increasing in recent years.

Secondly, the socio-economic problem is helping in the emergence of naxalism, and its strength is enhancing in our country.

Thirdly, Sir, this Government and its intelligence is failing. What would be the approach of this Government? This Government owes an explanation with regard to this.

Finally, Sir, another issue which is related to this is, the policy which the Government is pursuing. In our country, more than 20 per cent of the farmers are below the poverty line. From 1991 to 2001, the number of cultivators has gone down in this country. This is with regard to farmers.

With regard to the tribals, who lost their land, we are asking for a Tribal Land Bill to provide land for the tribals. What is the stand of this Government? This Government has failed to come with the Bill so far. There is no employment, there is no administrative attempt, there is no political attempt to resolve the issue and there is no economic attempt or financial support to resolve this issue. There is no social support. Sir, one more issue...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please make your concluding remarks now.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Yes, Sir. You see what we have done in Tripura. In Tripura, the Government has taken the initiative and insurgency has come down. They have the longest border with Bangladesh. So, if there is some administrative attempt, stern step by the Government, discussion, or socio-economic support, then, this menace will come down. Unfortunately, we do not have a roadmap to resolve this issue. So, naturally, the Government has to come with a roadmap. There is one more issue.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. (*Interruptions*) You have already exceeded the time.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: Sir, criminalisation of politics is there. You have to take note of it when you are thinking about internal security. 250 known criminals contested in Bihar. Caste politics and communal

hatred are also promoting criminalisation in our country. This also is a threat to the internal security. When one MLA was murdered yesterday, we all expressed our concern. The same thing happened in Jharkhand. Then, the BJP did not take the same stand. It should not be a partisan issue. So, we must be careful about criminalisation, caste politics, and communal hatredness. All these contribute to this serious problems of internal security of this nation. So, naturally, this Government must have concrete plans; one on the social side and the other on the economic side. At the same time, there should be roadmap to resolve this issue and it should be more transparent and more democratic. Thank you, Sir.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. P.C. Alexander. You have eight minutes, so, please try to confine to that. Everybody is given eight minutes.

DR. P.C. ALEXANDER (Maharashtra): Thank you, Sir. Immediately, after the Jehanabad incident on 13th November, I had given a notice under Rule 176 of my wish to raise a Short Duration Discussion on internal security. My intention was not merely to discuss what happened in Jehanabad or what should have been done to prevent this happening. My intention was to raise certain basic issues relevant to internal security in our country, issues, which I feel have not received the serious attention of our country ever since independence.

The first point I would like to make is, what Mr. Vayalar Ravi has also made, the naxalite problem or the Maoist problem is only a part of the problem of internal security. We need not identify the Maoist problem or the naxalite problem as the problem of internal security. It is a fact, it has spread over 136 districts and 13 States, but that is only one dimension of the problem. We are familiar with what is happening in certain States, in certain districts in the North-Eastern part.

Let us not hide the fact. In one State, we know very well that even female Government officials are paying protection money to the insurgent groups or the violent groups. They are buying peace in advance by giving them every month part of their salary. Even the bureaucrats are doing, and I am told that even politicians are doing. The writ of the Government is not being observed, not being respected in certain districts in our North-Eastern region. This is a fact of life, and we need not hide that. Unfortunately, whenever we have discussed the issue of national security, we have forgotten the most important dimension to it, of internal security. A few years ago. I think it was the NDA Government which started some approach to the

problem of national security, created a post of National Security Adviser, and, then, created National Security Council. But, unfortunately, that office which was started six years ago or some years ago concentrated its attention only to external security, or national security with the dimension of preserving the integrity of the nation, territorial integrity of the nation and sovereignty of the nation. The generally accepted definition of security is preserving territorial integrity and sovereignty. But, we are forgetting that almost in all developing countries national security is developing certain new dimensions. We have been ignoring it. We have ignored it for about 60 years now. And we speak of national security, only in terms of defence, maintaining national sovereignty, forgetting the most important pressing problem of internal security. I am sorry to say this that whenever we have raised the issue of what happened on the naxalite front, or, what happened in the North-Eastern region, there has been a stock answer from the Home Minister, for whom I have great personal respect and friendship, it is not a criticism, but it is his policy or the Government's policy, 'that it is a law and order problem.' When we raised the issue of naxalite, or what happens in some other part of the country, which has a direct bearing on internal security, the stock reply comes that it is a law and order problem. We have been trying to say that it is not a law and order problem alone. It has a law and order dimension .....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Please yield for a minute. I have never said this. I will never say this.

DR. P.C. ALEXANDER: You have never said it, but you have always said one thing. Law and order is a subject relating to State. 'We will give them all the assistance we can. We are sending police from the Central forces.' You have said these things. In other words, you are not thinking beyond what the Constitution today says.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: So you want me to act outside the Constitution? No, no.

DR. P.C. ALEXANDER: I want you to think very seriously, and I say it with full sense of responsibility. The problems have become so important, so dangerous to our national existence even .....*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If I remember, yesterday, the hon. Minister had made one more departure, and he said, 'we will try to give some directions also, I will direct also' .....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: That is provided in article 355.

DR. P.C. ALEXANDER: He issues directions. He calls meetings of Chief Ministers, meetings of Home Secretaries, Chief Secretaries. I want the Home Minister, I want the House – and I say it with full sense of responsibility – that there is a great constitutional conflict present here. Sometimes, we have to think beyond the Constitution. Why not? If the problem is beyond our capacity to handle, and if we see the problem developing into a serious danger for our very existence, we have to think beyond the Constitution, and introduce appropriate words in the Concurrent List which will enable you to act where you should be acting and when you should be acting. That is why I say that we should not consider it merely as a law and order problem or to treat national security as a problem of maintaining the sovereignty, and maintaining territorial integrity. I am going to give three or four practical suggestions. I wouldn't be happy with the suggestion or reply, this is not constitutional approved or not. I don't care whether it is constitutionally sanctioned, but I am concerned, and very seriously concerned that is we don't take certain actions now, we may regret that we did not take action today.

My first suggestion for your consideration is that you should have an Internal Security Advisor in your Ministry. In the Home Ministry, they should create the post of an Internal Security Advisor who will have full time attention to the problem of internal security, who will coordinate with the National Security Advisor in the Prime Minister's Office, but the Internal Security Advisor should be located in the Home Ministry, and there should be an Internal Security Advisory Council of real experts, and this Council should meet. I am afraid, the last decision which was taken by the previous Government to have an Internal Security Advisory Council remained on paper, and if I remember there was only one meeting in the last six years of its existence. Correct me, if I am wrong. That should not happen in your Internal Security Advisory Council. It should be an active Council, which should meet regularly and which should come out with papers, ideas, proposals, etc., which will help your Ministry to act in a proactive way. It is very important, and I again say this with a very great sense of seriousness that you should have in your Ministry a body of experts on the same lines that you have in the Defence set-up, which is called the National Advisory Council for Defence and Analysis which was headed by one of the greatest experts in modern world, Mr. K. Subrahmanyam, belonging to our country. You should have a similar institute in your country. Mr. Minister, today you depend only on the bureaucrats' notes on the files. Today, you depend entirely on what the Secretaries in the Home Ministry say. I am not blaming you. This had been the practice for the last sixty years after independence.

We are depending entirely on the view of the Secretaries and the Joint Secretaries. We have not developed even a single useful paper, leave alone a book, published for common knowledge, not even a single useful paper which should provide the input necessary for you to act. We have neglected research on internal security problem. You should develop an institute on the same lines as the National Institute of Defence and Analysis and make it a think-tank for you, and they will feed you with ideas. That institute should not merely consist of officers of the Government. It should consist of academics, experts, people from Intelligence, people from Defence Forces and that should meet regularly, act as a think-tank for your Ministry.

The third suggestion that I have to make is you should have a proactive role, covering not merely problems of sending policemen but also coordinating development programmes designed to prevent the troubles that ae created in the Naxal areas. I fully agree with Mr. Vijayaraghavan. I think he has left. His suggestion that we should deal with the people's problem is a very good suggestion, and it is only through the prople's cooperation that this Naxalite problem can be solved. You may create any number of new battalions under the various heads of the Central Police Forces. They will not be able to handel the situation effectively. They are like applying bandage to a wound, but the wound has been caused by something more serious than just a scratch. So, you will have to depend upon the people's cooperation. Address these development problems. For example, in the district of Gadchiroli in Maharashtra to which you belong and of which I know well, the tribals are aggrieved because they are not allowed to use the products of the forest and they come into a rebellious mood because of that. .....(*Time-bell*).... Everywhere you have to address the problem of the people concerned. And, finally, since the bell has rung, I am hastening.

Finally, you should have an approach, which will help you to coordinate development programmes designed for the areas, which are potential areas of trouble. One may think that I am suggesting a set of reforms or changes, which will make the Home Minister a sort of a second Deputy Prime Minister or something like that. It is not that. Every country is faced with a problem and you will have to find a solution suitable to that problem and not take shelter anywhere else.

Having said all these things, I shall come back to Jehanabad and just raise three to four points, for which, I hope, you will give a clarification when you reply. Unfortunately, I have to rush for another speech-making

ordeal and, therefore, I have to leave immediately. But I will raise these questions or points for clarifications.

Why did the people in Jehanabad not use the Intelligence Report that they received that there is going to be an attack somewhere? No points for saying that the Intelligence only said that there will be an attack and they did not say which place and when. You and I are so experienced in handling these problems. No Intelligence Report will ever say that this will happen tomorrow, or at such and such time or such and such place. It is only a vague suggestion. Why did you men fail to act on the Intelligence? Where is the responsibility? Why did not people on their way to Jehanabad not inform? I should not be saying it openly, but aren't there any informers paid by the Department? Aren't they paid to keep you informed about these developments? Why did such people fail to send you information that they are on the way and they are marching with arms and they are really going to create trouble? If there has been a failure, you are spending money without getting the returns from it.

Thirdly, why did they keep the Maoists and the Ranbir Sena together in one jail? I can't understand this. Everybody knows the background of these two forces, But 340 of them were put in one Jail! Why were they not spearated?

Fourthly, why were the Ranbir Sena persons kept in the same place as the other prisoners were? Will it not create an opportunity for them to capture them and take them away?

Fifthly, why was Ajay Kannu shifted from his own place to Jehanabad? A few days before this happened, Ajay Kannu was shifted to this jail and then, he was taken away by his followers. Why did it happen? Is there any Intelligence report about it? Was it the result of any collusion between those in authority and the Maoists? Did it happen like that?

Finally, how could the police forces behave in the manner in which they behaved when the DGP and the Chief Secretary visited Jehanabad? We saw it in the newspapers and also on the television, policemen protesting against the DGP and the Chief Secretary, who has gone there to enquire, shouting slogans. If this is the state of discipline in Jehanabad, I would not like to make any more comment about discipline in the Police!

I thought you would be in a position to clarify these six points. Thank you very much, Sir, for giving me the time. With your permission, may I leave without waiting further?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Abu Asim Azmi. But because he has requested, I am conceding and allowing Mr. Ram Jethmalani to speak.

DR. P.C. ALEXANDER: Sir, I would listen to him and leave.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Maharashtra): Sir, I assure you that I will not take more than a quarter of the time. which Mr. Arun Shourie took...(*interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Even quarter of that time exceeds your time limit!...(*interruptions*)...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, let me clear up a couple of misunderstandings. The security of India is not a State subject. The Supreme Court has authoritatively held that the security of india, which includes anti-terrorist operations, is a part of the defence of India and is, therefore, a matter within the Union List.

Secondly, I think there is a slight misunderstanding about Article 355 of the Constitution, to which a reference seems to have been made by my friend, the hon. Home Minister. It says, 'it shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State, not only against external aggression, but also internal disturbance.'

So, it is a constitutional duty to send Forces, to deploy Forces, wherever it is necessary to protect any State against internal disturbance.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: If you permit me, I would like to say something.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Certainly.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I value the opinion expressed by Mr. Jethmalani on this point. The point which I am just putting before this House for our consideration is: Is it possible for the Union Government to send its Police Forces without the invitation of the State Government to control the law and order situation or provide internal security in a State?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: In my opinion, yes. Your duty includes the power to make every duty effective. If you were interfering merely in a State subject, I can understand, but this is not a State subject; It is authoritatively now held to be a Union subject. Otherwise, your legislation about TADA or POTA will be invalid legislations if they were dealing with internal State subjects. However, Sir, I don't believe that any State—I hope, we have civilised Government in every State—will be reluctant to get

protection against a serious internal disturbance which they are unable to cope up with. Sir, nobody can disagree that violence today is in the air. Nobody will disagree that bombs are bursting everywhere causing extensive damage to public property, to installations, to public services and, of course, mayhem and murder of human beings and persons of all ages, and regrettably even the old, infirm and children, Therefore, Sir, there is no doubt that today we are discussing an urgent matter of public importance and I hate to think that anything adverse should develop out of this debate. I don't believe that my friend, Arun Shourie, indulged in any attack, vicious or otherwise, on the Home Minister. Of course, Sir, he is entitled to his conclusions, but I must pay him one compliment, and Sir, I have paid to him, despite my differences with him on some matters of policy, that he will never consciously mis-state a fact. His statement of facts is meticulously correct. His interpretation of facts may be wrong; you may disagree with him; his conclusions and suggestions may be horribly defective, but his statement of facts and his clear conscience about his commitment to truth can never be doubted by anybody. And, Sir, I don't believe that he made any attack on anybody. He did suggest a remedy, which, according to me, is thoroughly inadequate. But I must again congratulate him that his description of the symptoms of the disease was excellent, impeccable and cannot be faulted. But I must equally say that I believe that his diagnosis was poor and his prescription was poorer. Sir, first of all, we have various kinds of persons who are indulging in violent activities and you have got used to the use of this nefarious instrument of violence. Sir, we have anarchists, who flourished in Europe, for example, at the end of the last century, who believed that no Government is good and, therefore, all Governments must be destroyed. They have their own intellectual motivation. Some of them were born in Austria; some were born even in Russia. Prince Cropton one of those famous characters, was an anarchist, who believed that there should be no Government and it is worthwhile fighting against any kind of Government. Then, you have, Sir, the so-called freedom fighters. Now, Sir, that is a very grey area which is being exploited by many persons who are indulging in violence. But it requires propaganda; it requires negotiation; it requires education. Today, a valuable judgement of the Supreme Court of Canada-it is not of yesterday's occurrence, it is five or six years old— has gone into the question of the distinction between a terrorist and a freedom fighter.

Where there is a democracy and democratic rights are available in a State, any use of violence to achieve political objectives is terrorism. But,

in a democracy there can, therefore, be no justifiable terrorism of any kind.

On the other hand, Sir, we must acknowledge and we must have the courage to acknowledge that sometimes the tree of liberty does require to be nurtured by human blood. In other words, violance is necessary sometimes to sustain the tree of liberty. Augustine was not a terrorist, he was a freedom fighter' great Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was a freedom fighter, he was not a terrorist but he used violence all the way and he used organised violence, almost type of a war. You have the kind of terrorists that we see today in operation in Kashmir, you see it in Jehanabad and you see it everywhere else.

And, then, there are those communal fanatics who target only religious elements whom they don't like, who target tribes, ethnic and racial groups with which they have got some bone to pick. Sir, each category of terrorists, each category or kind of violent persons reqires a separate treatment. Mr. Shourie's prescription that you must enforce the law with the utmost possible severity is a prescription that is bound to fail. First of all, it has failed throughout history. We have never been able to stop terrorism completely. It will continue. You will modulate it, you may control it, you may bring it within reasonable limits, but it will never stop.

Sir, I don't wish to sound very pessimistic but let me tell you after the advent of the suicide bombers—and suicide bombers were not born in Palestine, they were born nearer home—all punishment and the prescription which Mr. Arun Shourie gives will be totally useless because our whole system of punishment and law enforcement and everything is based upon the theory that even a terrorist wants to save his life, and, therefore, he will not want to forefeit his life. Once you have got this very strange phenomenon, I am afraid, terrorism can never be completely stopped, and, your remedies that you are suggesting are going to be terribly ineffective and the time has come when the Home Ministry must not rely upon the power of its Armed Force but it has to rely upon other intellectual forces and intellectual remedies which are extremely important.

Sir, a comment was made by Mr. Arun Shourie that if you say that in spite of terrorist activities sponsored by Pakistan, the peace process should go on, this is according to him, an invitation to terrorism. Well, Sir, in a sense, he is right. But in a much, much larger sense, and, in a much truer sense, he is totally wrong. I have the experience of talking to people through

a Kashmiri student of mine, who became a devotee of mine because I helped him in the education and so on. Sir, I asked him to arrange my meeting with exactly those persons who have personally wielded the gun. I sat with those people for two continuous days; I talked to them and reasoned with them about the use of violence and the futility of violence. I must tell you that those 50 young men whom I met, ultimately, fought the last election under the name of Revolutionary—they gave it some name starting with Revolutionary. They contested the elections and they have not taken to the guns again. But this is the kind of remedy which you have also to adopt, and, so far as Pakistan is concerned, we have almost succeeded in telling Pakistan that terrorism is futile, it has never succeeded. And, the inhabitants of the Valley are today turning against Pakistan, and, I am quite sure today that if a plebiscite were held even in the valley, Pakistan would lose hands down because of its terrorist activities. People are tired of terrorism today. So, Sir, we don't have to give up. Mr. Arun Shourie mentioned that you are treating them with kid gloves. His complaint was that we are treating the terrorists the way you are treating, for example, Mr. Ahluwalia.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not here.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: This disturbs the decorum.....*(interruptions)*...They have also to be treated mildly. And, sometimes, that works. Sometimes, Mr. Ahluwalia gets tired and sits down. Some day, these terrorists will get tired and they will sit down. We must, therefore, continue the peace process because to submit to his advice will be to put the terrorist on a premium. They will think that we are now the persons who will control the continuance of the peace process and we can stop it. This will increase their power. Let them be told in no clear terms... Sir, I must say in fairness to Mr. Musharraf that President Musharraf has been compelled by American pressure, at least, to do through 180 degrees of change and he is fighting those very frankensteins which he has created. I do not expect Mr. Musharraf to do more under the present circumstances. We have to give him something which he can sell to the people and to the terrorist. Something will have to be given. कुछ तुम चलो, कुछ हम चलें। Unless you do something, the Kashmir problem, will not solve itself, nor will you solve the problem of intermittent terrorism. The terrorist may tire out one day. I have no doubut that they will.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: A quarter of your time is over on Mr. Arun Shourie.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I am trying to skip everything. But I want to find out whether anything which is really ....(*Interruptions*).....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, I was saying just like that. ...(*Interruptions*)..

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: There was no clapping on your last point.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I speak my mind. Whether you like it or they like it or both of you dislike it, I don't mind. Sir, there is some point on which I wish to say because I claim that I have some special experience and expertise on that point, namely the efficacy of punishment. Sir, it is extremely important. Punsihment, if it is to be effective, it must be swift and it must be certain. If it is neither swift nor certain, be sure, that punishment will be totally, totally counter-productive. Sir, they have incompetent prosecutors. They have zealous police officers and CBI officers who do not even know who to conduct the prosecution. I do not know how they are appointed. Time and again, English courts and American courts have said, "Please avoid these long, drawn-out conspiracy trials. Take the core criminals; take the core offences, some 5 or 6 core people, examine the necessary witnesses against them, five, ten or fifteen, and hang them within the next one year or two after the offence is committed. If punishment will be effective, there will be some people who will, at least, say "My God, I might meet the same fate. Therefore, I might avoid terrorism". I am not sure whether this will work on the suicide bomber. But, Sir, what is this bomb blast case from Mumbai? Take the example of it. In 1993, the offence was committed. Still, for the two years, the judge is writing his judgement. Now, if you have 150 accused and, God forbid, if there are again 150 lawyers, they do not have even a court room to accommodate the accused and their lawyers, leave aside spectators, leave aside some Press people and so on and so forth. And, if each witness is examined by 150 lawyers, imagine how the trial will ever come to an end. In the mean time, some accused may have died, some have become insane, some have run away. What is this? In 13 years, who bothers the efficacy of the punishment? And, every terrorist knows that even if he is a terrorist for 13-14 years, he will survive in the kind of judicial system that we have. Sir, this requires to be remedied. The whole criminal justice system is crumbling. It has to be altered if you want your terrorist to be tried speedily. Sir for God sake-I hope I am not angling to take a job under your Government-please do talk to us, sit with us, consult us so that we can advise you what should be done about the efficacy of the judicial system. Sir, I had a lot to say, but there is constraint of time. My gratitude to you. Thank you.

DR. K. MALAISAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, when will our turn come?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Next. That is according to rule. These two senior people were exceptions.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Sir, we are the fourth largest party in the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHARIMAN: Mr. Malaisamy, I am going by the chart only. In this case, I took the consent of the House that two senior Members wanted to speak. That is why we departed from It. Otherwise, we would not have departed from it.

श्री अबू आसिम आजमी: सर, थैंक्यू वेरी मच, आपने मुझे इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी सिनेरियो पर बोलने का मौका दिया। इस हाउस में मैंने पहले भी इस डिबेट में हिस्सा लिया है और सुना है। जब डिबेट की शुरूआत श्री अरुण शौरी जी ने की तो मुझे बड़ा इंटरेस्ट आया कि यह बड़े ईमानदार आदमी हैं, अच्छी बात करेंगे। जब शुरूआत किया तो मुझे अच्छा लगा। लेकिन मैंने देखा कि ये भी उन्हीं राजनीतिक नेताओं की तरह से हैं जो सिर्फ अपनी पार्टी को बढ़ाने के लिए हैं न कि देश में कोई प्रोब्लम हल हो जाए। मैंने इस बात को बहुत अच्छी तरह से महसूस किया है मुझे बोलने में कोई हर्ज नहीं है। मैं यहां यह मार्क कर रहा हूं कि यह वह देश है भारतवर्ष, जिसे आजाद कराने के लिए इतनी बड़ी कुर्बानियां हुईं। हमारे बाल- बच्चे, आपके बाल-बच्चे सबके बाल-बच्चे ही रहते हैं, 103 करोड़ की आबादी वाला देश है लेकिन लोग सीरियस नहीं हैं, इस बात के ऊपर कि यहां की इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी कैसे ठीक हो जाए, किस तरह से यहां से टेरोरिज्म खत्म हो जाए, कैसे लोग आपस में भाई-भाई की तरह से इस देश में रहें। अगर इधर चले जाएंगे तो उसके ऊपर डालेंगे तथा उधर चले जाएंगे तो इसके ऊपर डालेंगे, सिर्फ यही मसला है। लेकिन आज हमें इस बात को तय करना चाहिए। कहते हैं कि:

"मेरी कमजोरियों पर जब कोई तनकीद करता है,
वह दुश्मन क्यों न हो उससे मोहब्बत और बढ़ती है।"

होना तो यह चाहिए कि पहले मेरी सरकार थी, मेरी सरकार में भी यह हुआ है और आपकी सरकार में भी यह हो रहा है, चलिए हम दोनों मिल बैठ करके इस देश से कैसे आतंकवाद और इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी की प्रोब्लम खत्म हो सके, इसे हम डिस्कस करें, तभी यह मैटर हल होगा, नहीं तो जिंदगी में भी यह मैटर हल नहीं हो सकता। इस बात को भी हमें सोचना पड़ेगा। जब उन्होंने बताया कि उत्तर प्रदेश का एक एम०एल०ए० मार दिया गया। हमें अफसोस इस बात का है कि वह बेचारा मार दिया गया, उसके बाल-बच्चों पर जो गुजर रही होगी वे तो बेचारे बच्चे ही जानते होंगे। उन्होंने कहा कि कोई वहां का एम०एल०ए० है जो कई गाड़ियों में चलता है। मैं इनसे कहता हूं और आपसे भी कहता हूं कि इंक्वायरी कर लीजिए कि जो एम०एल०ए० साहब मारे गए, मुझे हमदर्दी है

कि वे बचारे मारे गए लेकिन वे कितनी गाड़ी में चलते थे, उनके पास कितनी सिक्योरिटी रहती थी और उनके और कितने मुकदमात हैं और कितने किडनेपिंग में वे आगे थे, यह भी आप जरा देखते तो मैं समझता कि आप सच्चाई बोल रहे हैं। आप केवल एक ही चीज बोल रहे हैं। इसका मतलब है कि आप सीरियस नहीं हैं इस देश की इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी के लिए। बस,उत्तर प्रदेश में समाजवादी पार्टी की सरकार है, मेरी नहीं है, इसलिए वह बहुत खराब है और मेरी सरकार है गुजरात में, वह बहुत अच्छी है। अगर आप इसी के साथ यह कह देते कि गुजरात में एक ट्रेन का डिब्बा जलाया गया तो 80 लोग मरे, लेकिन हमें अफसोस है कि 180 पर पोटा लगा दिया गया। 80 जलाए गए थे 180 पर पोटा लगाया गया। एक्शन और रिएक्शन किसी गुंडे ने नहीं, बल्कि एक चीफ मिनिस्टर ने किया। उसमें 250 लोग जला दिए गए तो एक पर भी पोटा नहीं लगाया गया। ऐसा कैसे, 80 के जलने पर 180 पर पोटा और 250 के जलाने पर एक को भी पोटा नहीं। इससे तो इंसाफ नहीं हो सकता। याद रखिए, इस हाउस में बड़े चेलेंज के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि जुल्म और नाइंसाफी के कोख से पैदा होता है आतंकवाद। जब तक जुल्म और नाइंसाफी इस मुल्क से खत्म नहीं होगी, उस वक्त तक इस मुल्क से आतंकवाद कभी खत्म नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि हम सबको मिलजुल कर बैठक करके सोचना चाहिए। आज आतंकवाद क्यों बढ़ रहा है। आज यह देखा गया है कि अभी पिछले थोड़े दिनों पहले पेरिस के अंदर बहुत फसाद हो गया। वहां एक बहुत बड़ा मसला पैदा हो गया। लेकिन अगर उस पर गौर किया जाए तो पता चलेगा कि वहां जो फसाद हुआ, वह वहां एक तबके की बेरोजगारी के कारण हुआ। उसको वहां की हुकूमत से इंसाफ नहीं मिल रहा था इसलिए फसाद शुरू हुआ। वही चीज हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में भी हो रही है। यहां भी एक तबका है जिसके साथ नाइंसाफी बारबार हो रही है। अगर कोई उसको गलत कहे तो मैं उसकी गुलामी करने को तैयार हूं। अगर आज यह कहा जा रहा है कि दूसरे मुल्कों की यहां पर सपोर्ट मिल रही है तो बिल्कुल सही बात है, दूसरे मुल्क के लोग ताक लगाए बैठे हैं कि किस तरह से हम हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर गड़बड़ी फैलाएं, किस तरह से हम हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर फसाद को बढ़ावा दें। यह देख रहे हैं। जब बिलकिस बानो जैसा केस गुजरात में हो जाएगा, जब एक औरत के साथ रेप होगा और जब वह पुलिस स्टेशन में जाएगी कम्पलेंट करने को और शिकायत नहीं ली जाएगी, अरेस्ट भी कोई नहीं होगा और मुकदमे की सुनवाई भी नहीं होगी और सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जाने के बाद यह कह दिया जाएगा कि गुजरात में नहीं, बल्कि दूसरे स्टेट में मुकदमा चलाओ वहां पर लॉ एंड आर्डर खत्म हो चुका है, वहां पर इंसाफ नही मिलेगा, तो फिर इस देश से कभी भी टेरोरिज्म और इस तरह से वॉयलेंस खत्म नहीं हो सकता है। आज हम सब इस हाउस में बैठे हैं, सारी दुनिया देख रहीं है, हम जिस मुद्दे पर यहां बात कर रहे हैं, हमें यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि क्या हम इस मुद्दे पर सीरियस हैं। आज यह तय कर लीजिए कि कोई भी गुंडा होगा, कोई भी माफिया होगा, कोई भी ऐसा आदमी जिस पर क्रिमिनल केसेज होंगे, जो वेल नोन किडनेपर होगा, जिस पर बहुत सारे केसेज होंगे, उसे कोई टिकट नहीं देगा। मैं टिकट नहीं दूंगा, तो आप दे देंगे, आप नहीं देंगे, तो फलाना दे देगा, उसको सेक्योरिटी भी दस दे देंगे, तो फिर आपस में झगड़े होंगे और लोग मारे जायेंगे और इस

तरह से सरकारें बदनाम होंगी। कितने लोग मारे गये हैं, मेरे पास उत्तर प्रदेश की लिस्ट है, उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में कहा जा रहा है कि वहां लॉ एंड आर्डर खत्म हो चुका है। मैं आज इनसे पूछता हूं कि इससे पहले जो लोग मारे गये, उस समय किसकी सरकारें थी? वर्ष 1995 में लक्ष्मी शंकर यादव जी मारे गये थे, जोकि एक्स मिनिस्टर, एम०एल०ए० थे, उस समय वहां पर समाजवादी पार्टी की सरकार नहीं थी। वर्ष 1997 में एक्स एम० पी० श्री ओम प्रकाश पासवान का मर्डर हुआ, उसके बाद वर्ष 1999 में भगवान बख्स सिंह का मर्डर हुआ, उस समय वहां पर बीजेपी की सरकार थी। गुजरात में इन्हीं की सरकार थी, जब वहां के एक्स होम मिनिस्टर मारे गये, तो वहां पर किसकी सरकार थी? आप यह कह कर कि उत्तर प्रदेश में लॉ एंड आर्डर खत्म हो गया है, जनता को* नहीं बना सकते, जनता अच्छी तरह से देख रही है। जैसे यह कहते हैं कि-

"अपनी सूरत न देखी गई आपसे,
बेवजह आईना तोड़कर रख दिया"।

पहले अपने आपको देखिये कि आप क्या कर रहे हैं। यह हिन्दुस्तान वह देश है, हमारे पास एक रिवाज है और हमारे पास कोई आता है तो हम कहते हैं कि पहले आप, बाद में मैं। लेकिन राजनीति में सब खराब और सबसे अच्छा मैं। हम सब को इस मुद्दे पर तय करना पड़ेगा कि जहां हमारे बाल-बच्चे रहते हैं, यह हमारे पुरखों का देश है, यहां से हमें टेरेरिज्म खत्म करने के लिए हम सबको 103 करोड़ लोगों के अंदर इसके लिए अवेयरनेस लानी पड़ेगी। जो भी इस देश के अंदर आतंकवाद को बढ़ावा देता हो, देश के अंदर सेक्योरिटी के लिए प्राब्लम खड़ा करता हो, उसके खिलाफ, चाहे वह किसी भी पार्टी का हो, हमें पार्टी से उभरकर उसके खिलाफ एक जंग का ऐलान करना होगा।

आज जो टेरेरिज्म बढ़ रहा है, उसका सबसे बड़ा कारण नाइन्साफी है। (...समय की घंटी..) लोगों को सोशल, पोलिटिकल इन्साफ देना होगा। जो लोगों के साथ इकोनोमिकल नाइन्साफी हो रही है, इसकी वजह से टेरेरिज्म और बढ़ता जा रहा है। आज भुखमरी बढ़ती जा रही है। करोड़ों ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास खाने के लिए एक रुपया तक नहीं है। होम मिनिस्टर साहब यहां बैठे हुए हैं, आप कितनी भी इंटेलीजेंस बढ़ा लें, कितनी भी फोर्सेज लगा लें, दुनियाभर की फोर्सेज लगा लें, लेकिन जब एक आदमी ने यह तय कर लिया है कि मैं सुसाइड बम लेकर आऊंगा, तो फिर कुछ होने वाला नहीं हैं। हमें उनकी प्राब्लम्स को सुनकर के किसी भी तरह से हल करना चाहिए। हमें उनसे बातचीत करके, उनकी प्राब्लम्स की गहराई में जाकर, उसके लिए कोई रास्ता बनाना पड़ेगा और किसी एक को दबाकर के, किसी एक के साथ नाइन्साफी करके, पुलिस लगाकर, बंदूक के जरिये, हम लोग अपने मुल्क की इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी की प्राब्लम को कभी खत्म नहीं कर सकते हैं, चाहे आसमान की ऊंचाई पर बैठा हुआ कोई इन्सान हो या जमीन पर भीख मांगने वाला कोई इन्सान हो। जब तक इस मुल्क में दोनों को एक नजर से देखा नहीं जायेगा, तब तक इस मुल्क से यह मसला खत्म नहीं हो सकता है। मैं फिर एक बार होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूं कि नाइन्साफी खत्म होनी

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

चाहिए। अगर दिल्ली के अंदर फसाद हुआ, तो यहां कोई मिनिस्टर था, उससे आपने रिजाइन करवा लिया, लेकिन मुम्बई में फसाद हुआ और वहां पर श्रीकृष्णा कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आई, तो जिस आदमी का नाम श्रीकृष्णा कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में लिखा हुआ है, उसे आपने मंत्री बना दिया, तो लोगों को दुख होगा और लोगों के साथ नाइन्साफी होगी। इस तरह से जब नाइन्साफी बढ़ेगी, तो फिर आपस में इख्तलाफात बढ़ेंगे और ये सब चीजें सामने आयेंगी। मैं इन्हीं बातों के साथ अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

†[] श्री ابو عاصم اعظمی "اتر پردیش" : سر، تھینک یو ویری مچھ، آپ نے مجھے انٹرنل سکیورٹی سیریو پر بولنے کا موقع دیا۔ اس ہاؤس میں میں نے پہلے بھی اس ڈیبیٹ میں حصہ لیا ہے اور سنا ہے۔ جب ڈیبیٹ کی شروعات شری ارون شوری جی نے کی تو مجھے بڑا انٹریسٹ آیا کہ یہ بڑے ایماندار آدمی ہے اچھی بات کریں گے۔ جب شروعات کی تو مجھے اچھا لگا۔ لیکن میں نے دیکھا کہ یہ بھی انہی راجنیتک نیتاؤں کی طرح سے ہیں جو صرف اپنی پارٹی کو بڑھانے کے لئے ہیں نہ کہ دیش میں کوئی پرابلم حل ہو جائے۔ میں نے اس بات کو بہت اچھی طرح سے محسوس کیا ہے اور مجھے بولنے میں کوئی حرج نہیں ہے۔ میں یہاں یہ مارک کر رہا ہوں کہ یہ وہ دیش ہے بھارت ورش جسے آزاد کرانے کے لئے اتنی بڑی قربانیاں ہوئیں، ہمارے بال بچے، آپ کے بال بچے سب کے بال بچے ہی رہتے ہیں، ۱۰۳ کروڑ کی آبادی والا دیش ہے لیکن لوگ سیریس نہیں ہیں اس بات کے اوپر کہ یہاں کی انٹرنل سکیورٹی کیسے ٹھیک ہو جائے، کس طرح سے یہاں سے ٹیرورزم ختم ہو جائے، کیسے لوگ آپس میں بھائی بھائی کی طرح سے اس دیش میں رہیں۔ اگر ادھر چلے جائیں گے تو اس کے اوپر ڈالیں گے اور ادھر چلے جائیں گے تو اس کے اوپر ڈالیں گے، صرف یہی مسئلہ ہے لیکن آج ہمیں اس بات کو طے کرنا چاہئے۔ کہتے ہیں کہ ؎

میری کمزوریوں پر جب کوئی تنقید کرتا ہے
وہ دشمن کیوں نہ ہو اس سے محبت اور بڑھتی ہے

ہونا تو یہ چاہئے کہ پہلے میری سرکار تھی، میری سرکار میں بھی یہ ہوا ہے اور آپ کی سرکار میں بھی یہ ہو رہا ہے، چلئے ہم دونوں مل بیٹھ کر کے اس دیش سے کیسے آتنک واد اور انٹرنل سکیورٹی کی پرابلم ختم ہو سکے، اسے ہم ڈسکس کریں تبھی یہ مسئلہ حل ہوگا، نہیں تو زندگی میں کبھی یہ مسئلہ ختم نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اس بات کو بھی ہمیں سوچنا پڑیگا۔ جب انہوں نے بتایا کہ اتر پردیش کا ایک ایم ایل اے مار دیا گیا۔ ہمیں افسوس اس بات کا ہے کہ وہ بیچارہ مار دیا گیا، اس

†[]Transiteration in Urdu Script.

کے بال بچوں پر جو گزر رہی ہوگی وہ تو بے چارے جانتے ہونگے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ کوئی وہاں کا ایم ایل اے ہے جو کئی گاڑیوں میں چلتا ہے۔ میں ان سے کہتا ہوں اور آپ سے بھی کہتا ہوں کہ انکوائری کر لیجئے کہ جو ایم ایل اے صاحب مارے گئے، مجھے ہمدردی ہے کہ وہ بے چارے مارے گئے لیکن وہ کتنی گاڑی میں چلتے تھے

ان کے پاس کتنی سکیورٹی رہتی تھی اور ان کے تو کتنے مقدمات ہیں اور کتنے کڈنیپنگ میں وہ آگے تھے، یہ بھی آپ ذرا دیکھتے تو میں سمجھتا کہ آپ سچائی بول رہے ہیں۔ آپ صرف ایک ہی چیز بول رہے ہیں۔ اس کا مطلب ہے کہ آپ سیریس نہیں ہے اس دیش کی انٹرنل سیکورٹی کے لئے۔ بس، اتر پردیش میں سماج وادی پارٹی کی سرکار ہے، میری نہیں ہے اس لئے وہ بہت خراب ہے اور میری سرکار ہے گجرات میں، وہ بہت اچھی ہے۔ اگر آپ اسی کے ساتھ یہ کہہ دیتے کہ گجرات میں ایک ٹرین کا ڈبہ جلایا گیا تو ۸۰ لوگ مرے لیکن ہمیں افسوس ہے کہ ۱۸۰ پر پوٹا لگا دیا گیا۔ ۸۰ جلائے گئے تھے ۱۸۰ پر پوٹا لگایا گیا۔ ایکشن اور ری ایکشن کسی غنڈے نے نہیں بلکہ ایک چیف منسٹر نے کیا، تو اس میں ۲۵۰ لوگ جلا دئے گے تو ایک پر بھی پوٹا نہیں لگایا گیا۔ ایسے کیسے؟ ۸۰ کے جلنے پر ۱۸۰ پر پوٹا اور ۲۵۰ کے جلانے پر ایک پر بھی پوٹا نہیں اس سے تو انصاف نہیں ہوسکتا۔ یاد رکھئے، اس ہاؤس میں بڑے چیلنج کے ساتھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ظلم اور ناانصافی کے کوکھ سے پیدا ہوتا ہے آتنکواد۔ جب تک ظلم اور ناانصافی اس ملک سے ختم نہیں ہوگا اس وقت تک اس ملک سے آتنک واد کبھی ختم نہیں ہوسکتا ہے۔ اسلئے میں بڑے ادب کے ساتھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم سب کو مل جل کر بیٹھ کر کے سوچنا چاہئے۔ آج آتنک واد کیوں بڑھ رہا ہے۔ آج یہ دیکھا گیا ہے کہ ابھی پچھلے تھوڑے دنوں پہلے پیرس کے اندر بہت فساد ہوگیا۔ وہاں ایک بہت بڑا مسئلہ پیدا ہوگیا۔ لیکن اگر اس پر غور کیا جائے تو پتہ چلے گا کہ وہاں جو فساد ہوا وہ وہاں ایک طبقے کو بیروزگاری کے کارن ہوا۔ اس کو وہاں کی حکومت سے انصاف نہیں مل رہا تھا اس لئے فساد شروع ہوگیا۔ اور وہی چیز ہمارے ہندوستان میں بھی ہو رہی ہے۔ یہاں بھی ایک طبقہ ہے جس کے ساتھ ناانصافی بار بار ہو رہی ہے۔ اگر کوئی اس کو غلط کہے تو میں اس کی غلامی کرنے کو تیار ہوں۔ اگر آج یہ کہا جا رہا ہے کہ دوسرے ملکوں کی یہاں پر سپورٹ مل رہی ہے تو بالکل صحیح بات ہے، دوسرے ملک کے لوگ تاک لگائے بیٹھے ہیں کہ کس طرح سے ہم ہندوستان کے اندر گڑبڑی پھیلائیں، کس طرح سے ہم ہندوستان کے اندر فساد کو بڑھاوا دیں۔ یہ دیکھ رہے ہیں۔ جب بلقیس بانو جیسا کیس گجرات میں ہو جائے گا، جب ایک عورت کے ساتھ ریپ ہوگا اور جب وہ پولیس اسٹیشن میں جائے گی کمپلینٹ کرانے کے لئے اور شکایت نہیں لی جائے گی، اریسٹ بھی کوئی نہیں ہوگا اور مقدمے کی سنوائی بھی نہیں ہوگی اور سپریم کورٹ میں جانے کے بعد یہ کہہ دیا جائے گا کہ گجرات میں نہیں بلکہ دوسرے اسٹیٹ میں مقدمہ

چلاؤ، وہاں پر لاء اینڈ آرڈر ختم ہو چکا ہے، وہاں پر انصاف نہیں ملے گا تو پھر اس دیش سے کبھی بھی ٹیررزم اور اس طرح سے وائلینس ختم نہیں ہو سکتا ہے۔

آج ہم سب اس ہاؤس میں بیٹھے ہیں، ساری دنیا دیکھ رہی ہے، ہم جس مدعے پر یہاں بات کر رہے ہیں، ہمیں یہ سوچنا پڑے گا کہ کیا ہم اس مدعے پر سیریس ہیں۔ آج یہ طے کر لیجئے کہ کوئی بھی غنڈا ہوگا، کوئی بھی مافیا ہوگا، کوئی بھی ایسا آدمی جس پر کریمنل کیسیز ہوں گے، جو ویل نون کِڈنیپر ہوگا، جس پر بہت سارے کیسیز ہوں گے، اسے کوئی ٹکٹ نہیں دے گا۔ میں ٹکٹ نہیں دوں گا، تو آپ دے دیں گے، آپ نہیں دیں گے، تو فلانا دے دیگا، اس کو سیکورٹی بھی دس دے دیں گے، تو پھر آپس میں جھگڑے ہوں گے اور لوگ مارے جائیں گے اور اس طرح سے سرکاریں بدنام ہوں گی۔ کتنے لوگ مارے گئے ہیں، میرے پاس اتر پردیش کی لسٹ ہے، اتر پردیش کے بارے میں کہا جا رہا ہے کہ وہاں لاء اینڈ آرڈر ختم ہو چکا ہے۔ میں آج اس سے پوچھتا ہوں کہ اس سے پہلے جو لوگ مارے گئے، اس وقت کس کی سرکاریں تھیں؟ سال ۱۹۹۵ میں لکشمی شنکر یادو جی مارے گئے تھے جو کہ ایکس منسٹر، ایم.ایل.اے. تھے، اس وقت وہاں پر سماج وادی پارٹی کی سرکار نہیں تھی۔ سال ۱۹۹۷ میں ایکس ایم.پی. شری اوم پرکاش پاسوان کا مرڈر ہوا، اس کے بعد سال ۱۹۹۹ میں بھگوان بکھس سنگھ کا مرڈر ہوا، اس وقت وہاں پر بی.جے.پی. کی سرکار تھی۔ گجرات میں انہیں کی سرکار تھی، جب وہاں کے ایکس ہوم منسٹر مارے گئے، تو وہاں پر کس کی سرکار تھی؟ آپ یہ کہہ کر کہ اتر پردیش میں لاء اینڈ آرڈر ختم ہو گیا ہے، جتنا کو * نہیں بنا سکتے، جتنا اچھی طرح سے دیکھ رہی ہے۔ جیسے یہ کہتے ہیں کہ

بے وجہ اپنی صورت نہ دیکھی گئی آپ سے
بے وجہ آئینہ توڑ کر رکھ دیا

پہلے اپنے آپ کو دیکھئے کہ آپ کیا کر رہے ہیں۔ یہ ہندوستان وہ دیش ہے، ہمارے پاس ایک رواج ہے اور ہمارے پاس کوئی آتا ہے تو ہم کہتے ہیں کہ پہلے آپ، بعد میں۔ لیکن راجنیتی میں سب خراب اور سب سے اچھا میں۔ ہم سب کو اس مدعے پر طے کرنا پڑے گا کہ جہاں ہمارے بال بچے رہتے ہیں، یہ ہمارے پُرکھوں کا دیش ہے، یہاں سے ہمیں ٹیررزم ختم کرنے کے لئے، ہم سب کو ۱۰۳ کروڑ لوگوں کے اندر اس کے لئے

اوئرنیس لانی پڑے گی۔ جو بھی اس دیش کے اندر آتنک واد کو بڑھاوا دیتا ہو، دیش کے اندر سیکورٹی کے لئے پرابلم ختم کرتا ہو، اس کے خلاف، چاہے وہ کسی بھی پارٹی کا ہو، ہمیں پارٹی سے ابھر کر اس کے خلاف ایک جنگ کا اعلان کرنا ہوگا۔

آپ جو ٹیررزم بڑھ رہا ہے، اس کا سب سے بڑا کارن ناانصافی ہے۔

.....(وقت کی گھنٹی).....

لوگوں کو سوشل، پولیٹکل انصاف دینا ہوگا۔ جو لوگوں کے ساتھ اکانومکل ناانصافی ہو رہی ہے، اس کی وجہ سے ٹیررزم اور بڑھتا جا رہا ہے۔ آج بھکمری بڑھتی جا رہی ہے۔ کروڑوں ایسے لوگ ہیں جن کے پاس کھانے کے لئے ایک روپیہ تک نہیں ہے۔ ہوم منسٹر صاحب یہاں بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں، آپ کتنی بھی انٹیلی جینس بڑھالیں، کتنی بھی فورسیز لگالیں، دنیا بھر کی فورسیز لگالیں، لیکن جب ایک آدمی نے یہ طے کرلیا ہے کہ میں سوسائڈ بم لے کر آؤں گا، تو پھر کچھ ہونے والا نہیں ہے۔ ہمیں ان کی پرابلمس کو سن کر کسی بھی طرح سے حل کرنا چاہئے۔ ہمیں ان سے بات چیت کر کے ان کی پرابلمس کی گہرائی میں جا کر، اس کے لئے کوئی نہ کوئی راستہ بنانا پڑے گا۔ اور کسی ایک کو دبا کر، کسی ایک کے ناانصافی کر کے، پولیس لگا کر، بندوق کے ذریعے، ہم لوگ اپنے ملک کی انٹرنل سیکورٹی کی پرابلم کو کبھی ختم نہیں کر سکتے ہیں، چاہے آسمان کی اونچائی پر بیٹھا ہوا کوئی انسان ہو یا زمین پر بھیک مانگنے والا کوئی انسان ہو۔ جب تک اس ملک میں دونوں کو ایک نظر سے دیکھا نہیں جائے گا، تب تک اس ملک سے یہ مسئلہ ختم نہیں ہو سکتا۔ میں پھر ایک بار ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ناانصافی ختم ہونی چاہئے۔ اگر دہلی کے اندر فساد ہوا تو یہاں کوئی منسٹر تھا اس سے آپ نے ریزائن کروالیا لیکن ممبئی میں فساد ہوا اور وہاں پر شری کرشنا کمیشن کی رپورٹ آئی تو جس آدمی کا نام شری کرشنا کمیشن کی رپورٹ میں لکھا ہوا ہے اسے آپ نے منتری بنا دیا تو لوگوں کو دکھ ہوگا اور لوگوں کے ساتھ ناانصافی ہوگی۔ اس طرح سے جب ناانصافی بڑھے گی تو پھر آپس میں اختلافات بڑھیں گے اور یہ سب چیزیں سامنے آئیں گی۔ میں انہی باتوں کے ساتھ اپنی بات ختم کرتا ہوں۔ آپ کا بہت بہت شکریہ، آپ نے مجھے بولنے کا موقع دیا۔

6.00 P.M.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Thanks a lot to you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, for calling me to make my presentation on the subject which we are discussing very seriously and sincerely. We have heard enough from both sides. Mr. Deputy Chairman, you can rest be assured that I would not generate any heat as was done by Shri Arun Shourie, on the one side, and by Shri Vayalar Ravi, on the other. To have an objective analysis of this generation of heat, we are neither forward, as stated by the other side, nor backward, as stated by this side. We are in-between. This is the way I could observe it.

Sir, the entire House is fully aware that the paramount and prime responsibility and function of any Government, whether it is democracy, monarchy, oligarchy, autocracy, irrespective of the form of Government, is to ensure protection of life and property in their domain. This is the paramount responsibility. That is why the agency or machinery which is handling this protection of life and property is considered to be very important. Hence the Home Minister or his machinery is looked at with utmost esteem. When we are discussing this aspect, the Home Minister may be correct in saying that the State is in charge of public order, law and order, detection of crime and control of crime. This is the basic function of the State and the police.

As far as internal security is concerned, what is their responsibility? Has the State Government got the responsibility or has the Central Government got the responsibility? According to me, both of them have got their own responsibilities. The State Government has got its own responsibilities. Similarly, the Central Government has got its responsibilities by way of coordination, by way of cooperation and by way of assistance. In this connection, Shri Ram Jethmalani referred to article 355 of the Constitution which enables the Union Government to protect the State from external aggression and internal disturbances. Okay. These wordings are definitely there. But that does not mean that the Central Government can afford to go straightaway to the State in the name of protecting the State from internal disturbances. In this process, the Central Government, must see to it that the federal feature of the entire Constitution or the independence of the State or the powers of the State is not encroached upon. In consultation with the State, in coordination with the State, it should render all-out help to the State. That is the important point.

Coming to the internal security, which we are discussing now, the forerunners, the previous speakers, have illustrated, starting with the insurgency in the North-East, naxalism in Andhra Pradesh, terrorism and extremism militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and they have substantiated how internal security has been offended and how violence has become the order of the day. I am inclined to say, whether you agree or not, that in most of the places in the country, the people are uneasy; they are restless; they are not comfortable. What are the reasons? They told us various reasons in their argument. According to me, we have the experience of the Indian democracy for more than 58 years. Most of the time, it was ruled by a single political party which was in power. Afterwards, the coalition concept came up or set in. Ever since the coalition Government came into existence, the Government has become soft, that is, it is not able to be strong as it was earlier. The concept of coalition, due to other situations, instead of being very strong, has become almost a matter of adjustment and understanding. That is what the coalition is. What I am trying to say is that the Government which is handling a very intricate and very important problem is not able to handle it properly because they could not be effective. They ought to have been effective, but they could not be effective. This is the way I look at it. The Home Minister, by virtue of his background, legal acumen vacabulary, etc. can explain it nicely and give a convincing reply, but the fact remains that restlessness is there; uneasiness is there. What I mean to say is, internal security has not been handled fully. There may be several constraints; there may be several other facts. But they have not been got ever. I would like to quote a couplet of 'Tirukkural'

"NOI NAADI, NOI MUTHALNADDI, NOI THANIKKUM VAAI NADDI, VAAIPPAKKUAL"

It means you must go to the root of the cause. After having gone to the root of the cause, you must know how to rectify it. There may be umpteen reasons for that. As a student of Management, I have been taught that any single problem has more than one solution. If there are so many solutions for a single problem. I would like to know whether you have tried all those solutions and whether you have been able to handle it. The Home Minister may convince us by saying that infiltration has come down, The number of crimes has come down, uneasiness has been mitigated and that the situation has been defused. He may be correct. Sir, I am suffering from a problem. I would like to know whether it could be done often. I don't think so. Unless I get a full solution to the problem, I don't get satisfied. Terrorism

is still there; militancy is still there; naxalism is still there and insurgency is still there. Can we afford to say that we have totally controlled the crimes? You have done something. Your presence is felt. You are making it to appear that you are doing something. We concede that you are convening meetings, going here and there and then explaining it to us. All these things are well taken. But the point remains that the problem has not yet been solved fully.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Just a minute. If I don't give statistics that infiltration has come down and casualities have come down, do you expect me to discuss incidents and then say,"Look the situation has improved or has not improved." Is there any country in the world where these incidents are not taking place?

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Can the hon.Home Minister say or assure us or afford to give us a time frame, if not today, tomorrow or some other day that it will be totally controlled, at least, in this State or that State?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I will again ask,"Is there any country or was there any time when it could have been done?" (*Interruptions*)

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Sir, whatever analysis you have made and with whatever solutions you have come out, according to me, it is more a trial and error method, rather than a scientific method. This is my observation.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You suggest the scientific method.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Coming to internal secutiry, I agree with the Home Minister that internal security is the responsibility of the State. The State police is more concerned about it. In such a situation, I would like to know whether any advise has been given to them in terms of their objectivity, in terms of their organisation, in terms of their manpower and in terms of their operation. Objectivity, organisation, manpower and operation are the areas. I would like to know whether any advice has been given to them to handle a gigantic macro level problem like naxalism,etc. It is very much a matter of internal security. Sir, are we capable of meeting out the emerging Crimes, the emerging challanges? What I am trying to say is that the outfits, law-breakers, naxalites, they are all more equipped; they have the most modern weapons and technology. Not only that; they have been much more trained. Even if they are only two, they are able to handle 30-40 people of our armed services or our policemen. They are much more effective; they are much more trained; they are much more equipped. How are we going to handle them ? In this connection, I would like to know

whether you can strengthen the hands of the paramilitary forces, whether you can advise State Governments also and give them more police forces. Sir, as per the statistics, the people -to-police ratio is 1:938, whereas in any developed country, it is 1:250-500. So, the ratio of our policemen in respect of people is very much less.

Coming to mordernisation, you are very much talking about it. I would like to know whether we have reached the optimal level, whether we have gone to the extent needed. Equip the police in terms of training, in terms of good reforms, in terms of professionalism, in terms of approaches in investigation, etc. Sir, I want to put a specific question to the hon. Home Minister. I would like to know whether the police can be allowed to function with a little bit of autonomy, whether we can afford to give a free hand to them in a critical situation like this.

One last thing I would like to say about this aspect is that when you deal with nexalites, law-breakers, etc.,you have to be very, very tough; there is no question of negotiation or anything of that sort. There may be upteen problems, be it, politically, economically,socially, etc. Ultimately, *danda* alone will help. That is the only language that they will understand. In a democracy it will be nice to say that we are negotiating things, that we are handling them,etc. But this will not pay. That is my honest personal view.

Before you ring the bell, I will finish with one important submission to illustrate , I would like to tell you how we should gain from the experiences of Tamil Nadu. The great Shri Rajiv Ghandhi was assassinated by the LTTE at Sirperumbadur in Tamil Nadu. Everybody knows about it. At that time,the Governor's Rule was there in the State. But, within a few days, after the AIADMK Government took over the office, and Madam Jayalalitha became the Chief Minister, belive me or not the first and foremost thing she took up with the policemen and bureaucrats is this issue. She said, "This is the uppermost thing in mind. I want to see that the LTTE activity is controlled contained and curbed in Tamil Nadu." She showed all her political will and showed extra concern on this matter with the result that in Tamil Nadu, LTTE activities were totally controlled within three months.Whether you belive it or not, it was done. This is the first instance.Then, Sir, we are all aware that the forest brigand, Veerappan, was threatening the three States, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. He was on the run for several years. Ultimately, he was killed in an encounter by the Tamil Nadu

policemen. What I am trying to say is that political will and skill which was present in our Chief Minister paid. I want to know whether we can take it as a hint for tackling all these problems. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Naqvi, the time allotted to your party is over, and whatever time you are now going to take for your speech would be extra time.

श्री मुख्तार अब्बास नक़वी (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी, मैं बिल्कुल कम समय में और जितना समय आपने दिया है, उससे भी कम समय में अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा। आंतरिक सुरक्षा के मुद्दे पर सभी बिंदुओं पर विस्तार से चर्चा हो गई है। जिन बिंदुओं पर सदन में चिंता व्यक्त की गई है, जिन बिन्दुओं पर बात की गई है, मैं उन्हें अलग रखकर कुछ जो स्पेसिफिक महत्वपूर्ण बिंदु हैं, उन पर अपनी बात कहना चाहता हूं। आंतरिक सुरक्षा में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है किसी भी सरकार की नीति, नीयत और नेतृत्व की। सरकार की नीति आंतरिक सुरक्षा के मुद्दे पर क्या है, नीयत क्या है और नेतृत्व की मजबूत इच्छाशक्ति क्या है, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। उनकी निश्चित तौर से आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद और नक्सलवाद पर घुटना टेकू नीति है, नीयत आतंकवाद और अलगाववाद फ्रेंडली है और नेतृत्व निश्चित तौर से आतंकवाद से ज्यादा अपने राजनीतिक लाभ के लिए चिंता में रहता है। मैं केवल कुछ महत्वपूर्ण विषय, क्योंकि अरूण शौरी जी ने अपनी बहस में जिन महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दों को उठाया है, वे उससे अलग हैं, आतंकवाद और अलगाववाद और नक्सलवाद से जुड़े सवाल पर आपके माध्यम से सदन में अपनी बात कहना चाहता हूं। सरकार की नीतियां दो वर्ष की हों या उससे बाद की हों, निश्चित तौर से आतंकवाद बढ़ा है, अलगाववाद बढ़ा है, नक्सलवाद बढ़ा है। जम्मू-कश्मीर से लेकर पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों तक, एक बार फिर से जहां पर शांति का माहौल दिखाई पड़ रहा था, जहां पर लोग प्रगति की मुख्यधारा में शामिल होने लगे थे, वहां पर फिर से अलगाववाद का एक माहौल दिखाई पड़ रहा है, आतंकवाद का माहौल बढ़ा है। एक बात बार-बार आती है कि गरीबी से, बेरोजगारी से, सामाजिक असमानता की वजह से आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद और नक्सलवाद बढ़ रहा है। उपसभापति महोदय, गरीबी, बेरोजगारी या सामाजिक असमानता से आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद या नक्सलवाद नहीं पनपता, क्रांति पनप सकती है। आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद या नक्सलवाद तो राष्ट्र विरोधी मानसिकता की वजह से पनपता है। अगर नॉर्थ ईस्ट में नक्सलवाद बढ़ रहा है तो हम उसे सामाजिक असंतुलन की वजह की आंखों से नहीं देख सकते, हम उसे गरीबी, बेरोजगारी से जोड़कर नहीं देख सकते हैं। जम्मू-कश्मीर में आतंकवादी घटनाएं हो रही हैं तो हम उसे गरीबी बेरोजगारी मात्र से जोड़कर नहीं देख सकते। अभी दिल्ली की घटना हुई, जहानाबाद में घटना हुई, ट्रेनों में, बसों में तमाम घटनाएं हो रही हैं, हम इन्हें उससे जोड़कर नहीं देख सकते। गृह मंत्री जी यहां पर हैं, आज तमाम आतंकवादियों के नाम आते हैं, वे सरकार की लिस्ट में हैं, जब घटनाएं होती हैं तो उन आतंकवादियों के इर्द-गिर्द अपने जाल को

बिछाती है। मैं एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात कहना चाहता हूं। पिछले एक वर्ष में जो आतंकवादी घटनाएं इस देश में हुई हैं, चाहे वह दिल्ली में बम ब्लास्ट हुआ हो, चाहे जम्मू-कश्मीर में लाल चौक पर घटना हुई हो या अन्य स्थानों पर हुआ हो, मैं यहां पर लिस्ट नहीं दे रहा हूं, ये सारी की सारी घटनाएं अल-कायदा के काम करने के तरीकों से मिलती-जुलती हैं।। आज केन्द्र सरकार और गृह मंत्रालय छोटे-छोटे आतंकवादी संगठनों के पीछे घूमता है, नाम लेता है कि यह जैश-ए-मोहम्मद है, यह फलां है, यह फलां है, लेकिन जो जड़ है, यह तो तने पर घूम रही है, जो जड़ है, वह अल-कायदा है। हमें इस बात को कहने में फख्र है कि दो साल पहले इस देश में अल कायदा की ऐसी कोई प्रेजेन्स दिखती नहीं थी। आज जो घटनाएं हो रही हैं, आज घटनाओं का जो तरीका है, वह कहीं न कहीं इस बात का शक पैदा कर रहा है कि इस देश में अल-कायदा की गतिविधियां चल रही हैं, इस देश में अल कायदा की जड़ें फिर से पनप रही हैं और यह एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय है। मैं चाहूंगा कि गृह मंत्री जी, अगर आज अल-कायदा का जाल इस देश में फैल रहा है, अल-कायदा की गतिविधियां बढ़ रही हैं तो यह निश्चित तौर से चिंता का विषय है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि आज जब आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद या नक्सलवाद को मैं जोड़कर देखता हूं, क्योंकि अभी कहा गया कि नक्सलवाद को अलग तरीके से देखा जाए और आतंकवाद को अलग तरीके से देखा जाए, मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता.....। आज कहीं-न-कहीं ये सारी चीजें एक साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं। यह सामाजिक समस्या नहीं है, यह रोजी-रोटी की समस्या नहीं है। अगर आन्तरिक सुरक्षा के सिलसिले में हमें अपनी स्थिति मजबूत करनी है तो ये सारी की सारी चीजें एक साथ जोड़ कर देखनी होंगीं। आज जो आतंकवाद का शैतानी मुखिया है-''अल कायदा'', अगर वह भारत में अपनी प्रेजेंस कर रहा है, अगर आज यह शैतानी मुखिया, जिसकी इस देश की तरफ एंट्री नहीं थी, आज तक इस देश में नहीं आ पाया था, अगर आज उसकी एक्टिविटीज़ बढ़ती दिख रही हैं, तो मुझे लगता है कि सरकार निश्चित तौर पर उन तमाम चीज़ों को देखेगी।

एक और महत्वपूर्ण बात रोज़ी-रोटी की है। चाहे आतंकवाद से जुड़ा हुआ प्रदेश हो, चाहे नक्सलवाद से जुड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र हो, केन्द्र सरकार उन राज्यों के विकास के लिए अरबों रुपया देती है। लेकिन मुझे दु:ख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उन अरबों रुपयों का क्या होता है? विकास होते हैं या नहीं होते हैं, इसका पता नहीं चलता। इसलिए कि हम कहते हैं कि आतंकवादियों को विदेशों से धन आ रहा है, हम कहते हैं कि विदेशों का धन नक्सलवाद को बढ़ावा दे रहा है। नहीं। हमें तो लगता है कि भारत सरकार का धन भी आतंकवादियों और अलगावादियों को मिल रहा है। कैसे? जम्मू-कश्मीर में सड़कें बनती हैं, पानी की व्यवस्था की जाती है और विकास के तमाम काम होते हैं, केन्द्र सरकार के अरबों रुपयों से यानी भारत की जनता की गाढ़ी कमाई के पैसों से, लेकिन उन्हें बनाता कौन है? उन्हें आतंकवाद और अलगाववाद से जुड़ हुए लोग दूसरे छद्म नामों से बनाते हैं। किसी की हिम्मत नहीं है कि उनसे पूछ सके कि तुमने यह सड़क बनाई कि नहीं, इतने अरब रुपए का काम था। किसी की हिम्मत नहीं है कि उनसे पूछ सके कि तुमने यह पानी की टंकी बनाई कि नहीं।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि अलगाववाद या आतंकवाद से प्रभावित क्षेत्रों को जो पैसा केन्द्र सरकार से दिया जाता है, उसकी कोई मॉनिटरिंग नहीं है। कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है कि हमने इस प्रदेश को देश की प्रगति की मुख्यधारा में शामिल करने के लिए जो पैसे दिए, वे कहाँ गए? मेरा मानना है कि उन पैसों का उपयोग भी आतंकवादी और अलगाववादी अपनी राष्ट्रविरोधी गतिविधियों को आगे बढ़ाने में काम कर रहे हैं। मेरा गृह मंत्री जी से कहना होगा कि निश्चित तौर से आतंकवाद और अलगाववाद पर काबू होना चाहिए। मैं मानता हूँ कि आपकी नीयत आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद या नक्सलवाद को ईमानदारी से खत्म करने की होगी, लेकिन निश्चित तौर से नीयत और नीति एक साथ होनी चाहिए। अगर नीयत है और नीति गड़बड़ है, नीति है और नेतृत्व की इच्छाशक्ति में कमी है, तो निश्चित तौर पर यह काम अधूरा रहेगा। इसलिए हमारा आपको सुझाव है कि उन क्षेत्रों में, जहाँ पर अलगाववाद, आतंकवाद या नक्सलवाद बढ़ रहा है, जहाँ पर केन्द्र सरकार भारत देश की जनता की गाढ़ी कमाई का अरबों रुपया देती है, वहाँ पर उसकी मॉनिटरिंग की प्रॉपर व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। यह देखना चाहिए कि वह पैसा, जो हम उन क्षेत्रों को, जो प्रभावित क्षेत्र हैं, दे रहे हैं, उन पैसों का उपयोग हो रहा है कि नहीं हो रहा है । प्रशासनिक पुलिस न्यायिक सिस्टम में व्यापक सुधार और बदलाव की जरूरत है। उपसभापति महोदय, इसके साथ-साथ मेरा अनुरोध है कि आज जब हम पिछले 19 महीनों की बात करते हैं, तो उसके पीछे तर्क यह है कि अलगाववाद बढ़ा है, आतंकवाद बढ़ा है, नक्सलवाद बढ़ा है, तो केन्द्र सरकार उसके ऊपर श्वेत-पत्र जारी करे। मैं अपनी बात इस बात से खत्म करूँगा–

"दे रहा है आदमी का दर्द जब आवाज़ दर-दर -2

तुम रहे चुप, तो कहो, सारा ज़माना क्या कहेगा

जब बहारों को खड़ा नीलाम पतझड़ कर रहा

तुम रहे खामोश, तो यह आशियाना क्या कहेगा -2

धन्यवाद।

SHRI RAMA MUNI REDDY SIRIGIREDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am greatly indebted to you for having given me this opportunity to speak on this very crucial, important and sensitive issue initiated by Shri Arun Shourie on the internal security scenario in the country. Sir, last time we discussed the entire functioning of the Home Ministry in 198th Session of Parliament and then we have had discussion on internal security, I think, last year. The time chosen to discuss the issue now is appropriate in the light of the recent serial bomb blasts in Delhi, killing of MLAs in A.P. and U.P., terrorist attacks in Jammu and Kashmir on the eve and after assuming the charge of the new Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, attack on Ram Mandir in Ayodhya in

July, 2005. Sir, I wish to concentrate only on few areas since the time at my disposal is very limited. Sir, the main dangerous fronts that the country facing as far as internal security is concerned are terrorism, naxalism and infiltration into the country.

Sir, first, I touch upon terrorism. This year, so far, nearly 700 people killed on account of militant violence in Jammu and Kashmir. Probably, India is the only country in the world which has been shocked by its adversaries and so often and with such a remarkable regularity. We are surprised by the uprising terrorist activities to begin with in Kashmir and now spreading to other major cities of the country. In spite of so many incidents, we have not learnt any lessons and are politicing every event. Now, the time has come to retrospect that what we have done is correct or what we are doing is proper. The UPA Government repealed POTA. Is it proper? You have done this out of vengeance. You have majority; you can do it. But, at least, now, after the incidents, which I had listed earlier, are you thinking that what you have done is proper? You could have at best amended the provisions of POTA, which, in your opinion, could be misused. You could have done that. I agree with the hon. Home Minster when he says that terrorism is everywhere — on the land, in the sky and in the water. I agree. But, to what extent India is able to influence Pakistan to stop aiding and abeting terrorism? According to Mr. Stephen Emerson, who is a specialist on terrorism, the U.S. and Europe did not take terrorism seriously till it affected its own citizens. Anyway, I hope and pray that, at least this will have some impact on Pakistan and the people of Kashmir will have some relief from these terrorist incidents. And, Sir, to curb this menace, I would suggest for creating First Response Groups in various cities the way we have in the USA. They consist of blood donors, transporters, doctors and community leaders to spring into action immediately because this helps in controlling further damage. There is also a need to widen the intelligence and security agency network. We have to develop technology on border surveillance to stop entry of terrotists because once they sneak in through our soft borders you cannot control their movement. We should also have fingerprint identification available at all our border posts which will give complete, complementary coverage to identify anyone apprehended by our border forces. Now, terrorists have invented a new methodology with regard to supply of funds to terrorists. They are operating now through ATMs. So, this should also be curbed. I entirely agree with our hon. Defence Minister when he said in the morning on this very floor of the House that you cannot buy peace by surrendering,

compromising or succumbing to the pressure of terrorists at whatever be the price.

Now, the second point is naxalism. Look at the Left wing extremism in the country. This has become one of the biggest menaces of the country. There are as many as 14 States and more then 165 districts in the country that are influenced by naxalism. The killings in Uttar Pradesh by naxalites and the attack by naxalites on Beur jail in Bihar clearly shows that they are still in control of many pockets in the country. Even TDP is the victim of naxalism. They tried to assassinate our leader Shri Chandra Babu Naidu, the then Chief Minister. Recently, one of the Congress MLA was also killed by naxals. Sir, during the course of discussion in the Coordination Centre Meeting held at Bhopal on 10th May, 2003, it was observed that dialogue should be held with naxalites only when they shun violence. Now, it is the other way round in the country. Neither they have shunned violence nor they have given up arms. So, I only say that let the Union Government take initiative in dealing with naxalites, even though law and order is a State Subject and let there be a coordinated national policy against terrorism and naxalism in the country.

Then, Sir, I come to the funding pattern for modernization of police force which is very important to deal with this menace. A Review Committee has been constituted and the CCS in its meeting held on 22nd October, 2003, approved funding pattern and according to which it has categorized all States into 3 categories. I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what is the rationale in categorising the States and how the Central funding patters would be determined? I demand that one-time grant be given to States affected with naxalite menace so that they will be able to modernise their force effectively because the States do not match with the latest weaponry that the naxalites have. Then, the police network project initiated by the Government is running at a snail's pace. I would like to know from the hon. Minister how many police stations have so far connected with police network and how many are going to be connected in the Tenth Plan. Then, I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what are the hurdles that you have in appointing Bureau of Police Research & Development as the nodal agency to oversee the modernization of police force in the country.

Another most important role that the Ministry of Home Affairs has to play is de-politicisation of police force. For this, Padmanabhaiah Committee was constituted to identify the challenges that police would face. The Committee had submitted its report. What has happened to that report?

What measures the Home Ministry has taken on the recommendations of the Committee? How many recommendations have, so far, been implemented? The House would like to know about it. Then, the last Chief Ministers' Conference on Internal Security has emphasized the need for structural reforms in police force. I would like to know what are the structural reforms that the Ministry is thinking of making in this force?

Sir, the position in the State of A.P. is pathetic. Within 18 months of rule by the Congress Party, there are many political murders. In Hyderabad thefts, murders, burglary have become the order of the day. As I had mentioned, two MLAs have been killed. It is a very sorry state of affairs. The Government has become spineless and silent spectator to all these happening.

Sir, now, I come to infiltration. This is the main route through which terrorists are sneaking into India. I have to make a point about the Indo-Pakistan border. Mainly, the 2,100 kms. Of border, I strongly believe, is one of the major reasons for disturbance of peace in the country. It is known to us all that a lot of infiltration is taking place from this border, resulting in the terrorist activities in the country. Hence, I demand that this border should be fenced by quickening the pace of work and see that this is fenced by 2005. The same is the case with Bangladesh. This border should also be fenced immediately.

Sir, we have been hearing about setting up of Federal Law Enforcement Agency in the Ministry of Home Affairs for sometime now to deal with certain categories of crime such as illegal immigration, drug trafficking, sedition, spread of dissatisfaction against the State, counterfeit currency, funding to terrorism, etc. I do not know what has happened to that idea. I request the hon. Minister to explain to the House as to what has happened to that proposal. Is it hanging fire?

So, Sir, finally, the problem is sensitive and is not impossible to deal with. If we have the political will, we can deal with this problem. I would even sugget for having a separate Minister for internal security since the Home Minister is burdened with so many tasks. For example, he has so many committees to attend, if he attends a meeting of a Committee today, he will have to wait for one year to attend to the meeting of the same Committee. This clearly shows how busy he is. Hence, there is a need for a separate Minister for internal security, at least, State rank. Otherwise, there would not be any law and order in the country. Once you don't have law and order in the country, it will have direct impact on our developmental

activities and ultimately on our economy. So, we all have to take a pragmatic approach to this problem and see that India is flourished in the comity of nations. Thank you.

डा॰ कुमकुम राय (बिहार): उपसभापति महोदय, भारत जैसे विशाल देश में, जहां की सच्चाई यह है कि 'कोस-कोस पर पानी बदले और चार कोस पर वाणी', वहां सरकार के लिए आंतरिक सुरक्षा को चुस्त-दुरुस्त बनाए रखना और अनेक पंथों में बंटे हुए समाज में समन्वय और भाईचारा बरकरार रखना एक जटिल कार्य है।

वैसे तो कानून एवं व्यवस्था मूलत: राज्य सरकारों का विषय है, लेकिन बहुत सारे नियम-कानूनों का पालन कराना और खास तौर पर पड़ोसी देशों से घुसपैठ रोकना, केन्द्र की ही जिम्मेदारी है। अगर देश के किसी भाग में राज्य सरकार आंतरिक सुरक्षा में गिरावट को नियंत्रित करने में विफल होती है, तो केन्द्र को इस आधार पर ऐसी सरकार को बर्खास्त करने का भी अधिकार है। देश के अंदर शांति बनाए रखना अत्यधिक आवश्यक है।

महोदय, देश की आंतरिक सुरक्षा को खतरा सिर्फ विदेशी घुसपैठियों के द्वारा फैलाए गए आतंक और नक्सलवादी हमलों से ही नहीं है, बल्कि देश के अन्दर साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की आग में आंतरिक सुरक्षा को जो खतरा पहुंचाया जाता है, उससे भी बहुत बड़ा खतरा है।

संप्रग सरकार की प्राथमिकता हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के सत्तासीन होने के एक महीने के बाद ही राष्ट्र के सम्बोधन में साबित हो गई थी। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि आंतरिक सुरक्षा एक महत्वपूर्ण चुनौती बनी हुई है। आतंकवादी हमारे राष्ट्र की एकता और प्रगति के लिए गम्भीर खतरा पेश कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि हमारे जो भी संसाधन उपलब्ध हैं, उन सभी का इस्तेमाल हम इसे कुचलने के लिए करेंगे। राष्ट्र के लिए उपस्थित आसन्न खतरे से निपटने के बारे में हमारे संकल्प को लेकर कोई संदेह नहीं रहना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि सरकार आंतरिक सुरक्षा की समस्या के प्रति एक व्यापक कार्य-दिशा अपनाएगी ताकि हमारी गुप्तचर एजेन्सियों में और अधिक तालमेल हो, आंतरिक सुरक्षा-ढांचे में अधिक सहकार हो और अधिक सुदक्ष सिविल मिलिटरी अंतर्संबंध उभरें और राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा प्रबंधन हेतु टेक्नोलोजी का और अधिक प्रभावी उपयोग हो।

महोदय, दरअसल आंतरिक सुरक्षा की दो प्रमुख समस्याएं इस सरकार को विरासत से मिली हैं और वे हैं पड़ौसी देशों से घुसपैठ और नक्सली समस्या। आंतरिक सुरक्षा को चुनौती देने वाली दोनों समस्याएं पिछले पांच-छह वर्षों की ही उपज नहीं हैं, बल्कि ये पिछले बीस वर्षों से सिर पर बनी हुई है। सरकार यह मानती है कि बंगलादेश से पाकिस्तानी खुफिया एजेन्सी आई.एस.आई. की गतिविधियां लगातार बढ़ रही हैं और इसके कारण भारत में आतंकवादी वारदातों के बढ़ने का भी खतरा हो रहा है। एक अनुमान के हिसाब से पूर्वोत्तर भारत के विभिन्न विद्रोही गुटों के लगभग डेढ़ सौ से अधिक

शिविर बंगलादेश में चल रहे हैं। इनको वहां से सक्रिय आई.एस.आई. तथा वहां की सरकार का भी समर्थन प्राप्त है। देश में कहीं सिनेमाघरों में विस्फोट हुए हैं, तो कहीं बाजारों में विस्फोट हुए हैं, तो कभी यहां संसद भवन पर हमला हुआ है, तो कहीं मंदिर पर अटैक हुए हैं, कहीं रेल और बसों में बम फोड़े जाते हैं और जिसमें सैकड़ों निर्दोष लोग मारे जाते हैं। जम्मू-कश्मीर से लेकर पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के विरोधी, विद्रोही गुट, सभी को पड़ौसी देशों से समर्थन, सहयोग और संरक्षण प्राप्त है।

महोदय, दूसरी प्रमुख समस्या नक्सलवादियों का बढ़ता दुस्साहस है। कभी ये संगठन गरीबी और बेरोजगारी के खिलाफ अपनी आवाज छुटपुट हिंसा के जरिए उठाया करते थे। जब ये सामाजिक परिवर्तन में नाकाम रहे तो इनके नेताओं ने अपना स्वार्थ साधने के लिए गुंडागर्दी और गैर-कानूनी तरीकों को अपना कर बड़े पैमाने पर गैर-कानूनी कामों को अंजाम देना शुरू कर दिया। ये सशस्त्र कार्यों के बल पर सत्ता में परिवर्तन का ख्वाब देख रहे हैं। हत्या, हिंसा, अपहरण, आतंक के सहारे गैर-कानूनी गतिविधियों में ये लिप्त हैं और सशस्त्र माफिया गिरोह के रूप में उभर आए हैं। कहीं वे वोट का बहिष्कार करवाते हैं, कहीं लोगों को धमकाते हैं और झारखंड में तो प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के शिक्षकों को फरमान जारी कर दिया है कि वे प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के बच्चों को नक्सली साहित्य पढ़ाएं और नक्सली आंदोलन के विषय में बताएं। अकसर हम लोग सुना करते हैं कि नक्सली दलपंथियों के द्वारा जन-अदालतें लगाई जाती हैं और रातों-रात झंडा गाड़ करके काफी एकड़ जमीन अख्तियार कर ली जाती हैं। दूरदराज के इलाकों में इनकी समानान्तर सत्ता कायम हो गई है। नक्सली संगठनों को भारत के संविधान में लेशमात्र भी विश्वास नहीं है। छत्तीसगढ़ में सुरक्षा बलों के 24 जवानों की हत्या की बात हो या झारखंड में आए दिन पुलिस-जन और निर्दोष लोगों की हत्या का मामला हो, सबसे ज्यादा चिंताजनक वारदात बिहार में जहानाबाद जेल पर हुए हमले की है, जिसमें 300 से अधिक अपने साथियों को छुड़ाना और विरोधियों को मारना से संबंधित है।

महोदय, यह कटु सत्य है कि नक्सली आधुनिक हथियारों और विस्फोटक पदार्थों और सूचना तकनीक से लैस हो चुके हैं दूसरी मुख्य बात यह है कि सबसे निचले स्तर पर मुख्यधारा से जुड़े राजनैतिक दलों का अभाव हो गया है, जिसके कारण उग्रवादी संगठनों को पनपने और जड़ जमाने का मौका मिलता है। इस समस्या को कानून और व्यवस्था की समस्या मात्र समझना एक भूल होगी। इसके सामाजिक, आर्थिक कारणों पर न सिर्फ सोचना होगा, बल्कि सुलझाना भी होगा । इस समस्या को आतंकवाद की बढ़ती प्रवृत्ति, महिलाओं के प्रति बढ़ते अत्याचार, अनुसूचित जाति और जनजातियों के दमन जैसी समस्याओं से अलग करके देखना होगा, तभी बातचीत के जरिए रास्ता निकल सकता है। आंध्र प्रदेश की सरकार ने बातचीत का रास्ता निकालने का प्रयास किया था, किन्तु सिलसिला आगे नहीं बढ़ पाया। प्रधानमंत्री जी ने भी हिंसा का मार्ग छोड़ने वालों से सार्थक बातचीत की पेशकश की है।

श्री उपसभापति: अब आप समाप्त कीजिए ।

डा॰ कुमकुम राय: सर, आतंकवादियों और उग्रवादियों के प्रति अलग अलग रवैया आवश्यक है। ऐसे प्रेरित समूह, जिनकी नीयत साफ नहीं है, उनसे बातचीत नहीं की जा सकती है। ऐसे समूह जम्मू-कश्मीर से लेकर पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में भी सक्रिय हैं। इनके विपरीत जो देश के पिछड़े इलाकों में देश की जनता से जुड़े हुए हैं उन्हें बातचीत कर सही रास्ते पर लाया जा सकता है। अत: संविधान में निष्ठा व्यक्त करने वाले समूह से बातचीत की जानी चाहिए और उनको हथियारों का मार्ग छोड़कर देश की मुख्यधारा में शमिल होने को प्रेरित किया जा सकता है।

महोदय, इस संदर्भ में देश के सुरक्षा बलों की स्थितियों पर भी विचार करना होगा। यदि आज हमारे अर्ध-सैनिक बलों की कार्यक्षमता प्रभावित हुई है, तो इसके कई कारण हैं । सबसे बड़ा कारण सी.आर.पी.एफ के सुरक्षाकर्मियों की बारी-बारी से प्रशिक्षण की कमी है। सी.आर.पी.एफ की दस बटालियनों को हर समय बारी बारी से साल में दो महीने की ट्रेनिंग करनी होती है। ट्रेनिंग में जवानों को चुस्ती-दुरुस्ती के साथ-साथ, उनके निशाने को अचूक बनाने पर भी ध्यान दिया जाता है, लेकिन इस समय दस के बजाय मुश्किल से चार बटालियन ही ट्रेनिंग कर पा रही हैं। सी.आर. पी.एफ. के ट्रेनर्स की भी भारी कमी है। बल में इस समय सिर्फ 1500 ट्रेनर हैं, जो सी.आर.पी.एफ. में गठित 22 बटालियनों के लिए ही पर्याप्त हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: समाप्त करें।

डा॰ कुमकुम राय: एक मिनट, सर। जब कि एक बटालियन में प्रशिक्षण कार्य से जुड़े 250 लोगों की जरूरत पड़ती है। अत: इस महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दु पर सरकार को कार्रवाई करनी होगी। दूसरी मुख्य वजह हमारी पुलिस अत्याधुनिक हथियारों, बेहतर संचार प्रणाली और उन्नत प्रशिक्षण के अभाव में जूझ रही है। उनके पास खुफिया सूचनाओं का भी अभाव है । यही नहीं, पुलिस-कर्मियों की जो कार्य-दशाएं हैं, वे भी संतोषजनक नहीं हैं। आए दिन उनकी आत्महत्याओं की खबरें सुनाई पड़ती हैं। विभिन्न राज्यों की पुलिस के बीच तालमेल का भी अभाव है।

ऐसा ही अभाव केन्द्र व राज्य के खुफिया तंत्र में भी है। इन सारी कमियों पर सरकार को विशेष कार्य-योजना बनाकर तत्काल कार्रवाई करनी होगी। संतोष की बात है कि सरकार ने आंतरिक सुरक्षा को देखते हुए गृह मंत्रालय के बजट में 30 परसैंट की बढ़ोत्तरी की है और वह पाक और बंगलादेश सीमा से होने वाली घुसपैठ को रोकने के लिए वहां कंटीली तारों की बाड़ लगाने के साथ सड़कें बनाने पर भी ध्यान दे रही हैं। सभी अर्ध-सैनिक बलों के लिए बजट में बढ़ोत्तरी की गई है । चालू वित्तीय वर्ष में सीमा सुरक्षा बल, केन्द्रीय औद्योगिक सुरक्षा बल, राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा गार्ड और असम रायफल्स के बजट में भी 20 फीसदी की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। इन सबसे सरकार की मुस्तैदी का अंदाजा लगाया जा सकता है।

अंत में मैं कुछ सलाह देना चाहूंगी कि सीमा सुरक्षा बल में महिलाओं की भी भर्ती की जाए, क्योंकि बंगलादेश और नेपाल की सीमा पर महिला तस्कर भी काफी संख्या में सक्रिय हो रही हैं।

साथ ही सुब्रह्मण्यम समिति और आंतरिक सुरक्षा पर गठित टास्क फोर्स की सिफारिशें भी शीघ्र लागू की जाएं। आतंकवादियों और नक्सलियों के खिलाफ सख्ती से कार्रवाई हो। केस जल्दी निबटाए जाएं। दोषियों को सख्त सज़ा मिले। इन सब बातों को सुनिश्चित करना भी सरकार का दायित्व है।

इन सब बातों के साथ ही मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करती हूं।

श्री उपसभापति: श्री राशिद अल्वी। आप कृपया पांच मिनट से ज्यादा मत लीजिए, हाऊस का मूड नहीं है।

श्री राशिद अल्वी (आंध्र प्रदेश): सर, आप कहें तो मैं बोलूं ही नहीं, लेकिन पांच मिनट में इंटरनल सिक्युरिटी पर अगर कोई बोल ले, तो उसे नोबल प्राइस मिलना चाहिए।

श्री उपसभापति: वह देखेंगे हम, बाद में देखेंगे।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: सर, जिन लोगों को इंटरनल सिक्युरिटी की बड़ी चिंता है, वे तो मेरे सामने से सब गायब हैं, कोई है ही नहीं यहां पर।

श्री उपसभापति: इसीलिए कह रहा हूं।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: सर, मैं बहुत देर से बैठा-बैठा सोच रहा था कि जो बहस श्री अरुण शौरी जी ने शुरु की थी और यह भी शर्त थी कि इंटरनल सिक्युरिटी पर बहस हो और सिर्फ ऐसी बहस हो कि जो आज और कल या रिसेंट में जो डेवलपमेंट हैं, उन्हीं पर बहस करनी है, उससे पहले की बात नहीं करनी। मैं लाइब्रेरी गया और मैंने अखबारात देखे तो पिछले दो दिन में इस देश के अंदर सिवाय एक फिल्म एक्टर के पेट के ऑपरेशन के अलावा कोई दूसरी समस्या नहीं हुई। इसलिए मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि बात शुरु करुं तो कहां से शुरु करुं। अगर पहले से शुरु करुंगा तो, खैर, अब वे लोग, जो शोर मचाने वाले थे, चले–गए वो जो बेचते थे दवाए दिल, वो दुकान अपनी बढ़ा गए, कोई ज्यादा परेशानी मुझे नहीं होगी। लेकिन, अरुण शौरी जी मैं बड़े अदब के साथ आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि पिछली सरकार और इस सरकार के थोड़े से डाटा मैं आपको दूंगा। अमरनाथ यात्रा...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो॰ रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: (उत्तर प्रदेश) आ गए। अहलुवालिया जी आ गए। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: अहलुवालिया जी आ गए। ...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो॰ रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: आपने बुलाया और हम चले आए। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: इससे पहले कि मैं अपनी बात शुरु करुं, थोड़े से डाटा आपको दे दूं। कश्मीर में, जहां सबसे ज्यादा टेरेरिज्म रहा है, 2005 में वहां चार लाख लोगों ने अमरनाथ की यात्रा की और साढ़े तीन लाख टूरिस्ट वहां पर आए।

श्री एस॰ एस॰ अहलुवालिया: धार्मिक यात्रा छोड़ दो।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: अब, देखिए, बीच में मत बोलिए आप। मैं आपको पूछकर नहीं बोलूंगा।

श्री उपसभापति: अल्वी जी, आप बोलिए। आप चेयर को ऐडरेस कर रहे हैं, उनको नहीं।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: 2003 के अंदर डेढ़ लाख लोग वहां पर आए थे टूरिस्ट्स की हैसियत से और इस सरकार की मौजूदगी में साढ़े तीन लाख लोग आए। पूरे देश के अंदर 2003 में जो इंसिडेंट्स हुए थे, वे 3401 थे।

श्री एस॰ एस॰ अहलुवालिया: गुलाम नबी जिस दिन शपथ ले रहे थे, उस दिन क्या हुआ?

श्री राशिद अल्वी: साहब, मैं इस तरह नहीं बोल सकता।

श्री उपसभापति: आप बोलिए।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: पहले आप उनको, सिस्टम को ठीक कीजिए। ...(**व्यवधान**)....

श्री उपसभापति: आप मुझे ऐडरेस कीजिए।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: मैं डाटा नहीं दे सकता हाऊस के अंदर? ...(**व्यवधान**)....

श्री उपसभापति: आप मुझे ऐडरेस कीजिए।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: कैसे ऐडरेस करूं? मैं इस तरह ऐडरेस नहीं कर सकता। ...(**व्यवधान**)...मैं डाटा नहीं दे सकता हाऊस में? ...(**व्यवधान**)....

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: इन्होंने क्यों कहा कि वे लोग चले गए। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठिए, बैठिए। ...(**व्यवधान**).... पाणि जी, आप जिस ...(**व्यवधान**).

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: महोदय, हम लोग यहां बैठकर सुन रहे थे। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... पाणि जी, आप बैठिए।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: हाऊस में अगर मैं डाटा नहीं दे सकता तो फिर इंटरनल सिक्युरिटी पर बहस का कोई फायदा नहीं। क्या यह इंटरनल सिक्युरिटी की बहस होगी? मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि पिछली सरकार और इस सरकार के अंदर क्या फर्क था?

अभी नकवी साहब कह कर चले गए कि यह नियम के ऊपर डिपेंड करता है। जिस पार्टी ने डेढ़ सौ साल हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी जिस पार्टी के अन्दर श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जैसी नेता

ने अपनी जान की कुर्बानी दे दी, जिस पार्टी के अन्दर श्री राजीव गांधी ने अपनी जिन्दगी की कुर्बानी दे दी, उसको क्या नीयत का सबक आपसे सीखना पड़ेगा? ...(व्यवधान)

श्री एस॰ एस॰ अहलुवालिया: *

प्रो॰ रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: *

श्री राशिद अल्वी: सर, इतिहास के पन्नों में जिन्दगी नहीं होती, ...(व्यवधान

एक माननीय सदस्या: देखिए, आपको बार-बार टोकना पड़ रहा है, ...(व्यवधान) आप मेहरबानी करिएगा। ...(व्यवधान)

श्री राशिद अल्वी: इतिहास के पन्ने ...(व्यवधान)

श्री उपसभापति: श्री अल्वी साहब जो बोलेंगे, सिर्फ वही रिकार्ड में जाएगा, दूसरा कुछ नहीं जाएगा।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: तारीख के सफ़ात में जिन्दगी नहीं होती, तारीख़ के सफ़ात ज़िन्दा नहीं होते हैं। अगर तारीख के सफ़ात के अन्दर, इतिहास के पन्नों के अन्दर ज़िन्दगी हुआ करती, तो वे आपकी बातें सुन कर खून के आंसू रोया करते। क्या आप हम लोगों को नीयत का सबक़ सिखाने का काम करेंगे। सर, ...(व्यवधान)

प्रो. रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: *

श्री राशिद अल्वी: मैंने कभी भी भारतीय जनता पार्टी को सपोर्ट नहीं किया, आप को गलतफ़हमी है।

प्रो. रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: *

श्री राशिद अल्वी: दो वर्ष नहीं, सारी उम्र में भी नहीं किया, न कभी करेंगे ...(व्यवधान)

प्रो. रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: *

श्री राशिद अल्वी: यह तो ** लोगों की पार्टी है ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: यह गलत बात है, महोदय, यह ** शब्द क्या है?

श्री उपसभापति: ठीक है, यह शब्द अनपार्लियामेंटरी है, हम लोगों ने इसे निकाल दिया है। I have expunged it. ...*(Interruptions)* देखिए आप अनपार्लियामेंटरी वर्ड्स इस्तेमाल मत कीजिए। ...(व्यवधान) I have removed it. ...*(Interruptions)*... मैंने इसे एक्सपंज कर दिया है। ...(व्यवधान)

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*Not recorded

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि:*

श्री उपसभापति: इनका कुछ भी रिकॉर्ड पर नहीं जाएगा। Nothing will go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*....Nothing will go on record.

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : सर, आपने कहा कि इसे रिकॉर्ड से निकाल लिया गया है, यह तो वही बात है ना कि हाउस ऑफ कॉमन्स में एक मिनिस्टर को गाली निकालें और ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: अब हम आपसे हाउस ऑफ कॉमन्स के सबक सीखेंगे? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : अब इसे क्या कहेंगे? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया :*

श्री उपसभापति : आप बैठ जाइए, बैठ जाइए। Nothing will go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing will go on record. अहलुवालिया जी, इससे ज्यादा न मैं कुछ कर सकता हूं और न आप कर सकते हैं, आप बैठ जाइए। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया :*

श्री उपसभापति : मैं और क्या करूं, आप बोलिए ...(व्यवधान)... और क्या किया जा सकता है, आप बोलिए ...(व्यवधान)... जरा मेहरबानी से आप भी अनपार्लियामेंटरी वर्ड्स इस्तेमाल मत कीजिए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : नहीं सर लाइव टेलीकास्ट में तो वह चला गया । वह तो अब यह कहें कि मैं अपने शब्द वापस लेता हूं । लाइव टेलीकास्ट में तो अब वह चला गया है अब तो आपके एक्सपंज करने से ऐसा नहीं है कि वह प्रिंट में नहीं जाएगी, लेकिन अब वे अपने शब्द वापस लें . ..(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : मैंने बोल दिया है ना कि अनपार्लियामेंटरी वर्ड्स ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : महोदय आप पहले मुझे यह बताइए कि हमारे संवैधानिक ढ़ांचें में, कांस्टीटयूशनल स्ट्रक्चर में, क्या **शब्द का प्रयोग ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : आप भी अब उसी शब्द का प्रयोग क्यों कर रहे हैं? यह भी रिकॉर्ड में नहीं जाएगा।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : ये क्या कहते हैं? ये क्या कहते हैं? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: सर जिन मुद्दों की बात यहां पर कही गई ...(व्यवधान)...

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*Not recorded

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मुद्दा है ही नहीं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: खास तौर से नक्सलाइट ...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो. रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा : आपके मुद्दे बदल गए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : वर्मा जी, आप बोलने दीजिए ...(व्यवधान)... । देखिए, जब आप बात करते हैं, उस समय यदि आपको कोई डिस्टर्ब करे तो आपको कितना बुरा लगेगा...(व्यवधान)... । कुछ भी हो ...(व्यवधान)..., देखिए मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूं कि कोई मैम्बर, you cannot expect that he will speak what you want him to speak. ...(*Interruptions*)... देखिए क्रिटिसिज्म होगा और आपको बर्दाश्त भी करना पड़ेगा ।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : सर, मैं तो टीवी पर देख रहा था, टीवी पर इनका भाषण सुन रहा था, इन्होंने जबरदस्ती मुझे बुलाया है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : इसीलिए आप भाग कर आ गए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : सर, मैं तो कॉफी पी रहा था, टीवी पर इनको सुन रहा था।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: महोदय ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : देखिए पाणि जी आप हाउस में बार-बार हर मौके पर इंटरवीन करते हैं। कभी-कभी इंटरवीन हो तो ठीक है ...(व्यवधान)... आप बार-बार मत उठिए, यह अच्छा नहीं लगता है।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: सर, मैंने बिल्कुल भी किसी का नाम नहीं लिया था, न ही किसी पार्टी का नाम लिया था। मैंने तो सिर्फ इतना ही कहा था कि जो हाउस को डिस्टर्ब करते हैं, वे चले गए। मैंने किसी की तरफ भी इशारा नहीं किया था।

श्री उपसभापति : अल्वी साहब, देखिए अब आप अपने सब्जेक्ट पर आइए ,अगर आप सब्जेक्ट पर बोलते हैं तभी यह रिकॉर्ड में जाएगा। अगर आप कंट्रोवर्शियल बात पर बोलते हैं। तो ...(व्यवधान)... Chair will not be responsible. I will go by time. ...(*interruptions*)... Please speak on the facts ...(*interruptions*)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : यह क्या कह रहे हैं, इनके पास बोलने के लिए कुछ है ही नहीं। ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why are you doing like this? (*interrputions*)

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: As a Parliamentary Affairs Minister, do you approve what he says? ...*(interrputions)*... As a Parliamentary Affairs Minister, do you approve what he says? ...(*interruptions*)... do you approve of this? ...(*interruptions*)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पणि: सर, ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : रिकार्ड में कुछ नहीं जाएगा पणि जी का।...(व्यवधान)... आप जरा फैक्ट्स पर बोलिए, बस हो गया, अब फैक्ट्स पर आइए।...(व्यवधान)... टोका-टाकी की भी एक हद होती है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: सर, अरूण शौरी जी ने जितनी स्पीच दी उसके अंदर इंसीडेंट्स को ज्यादा पोइंट-आउट किया कि कहां-कहां नेक्सलाइट के वाक्यात हुए , किन-किन स्टेट के अंदर हुए लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि जो बातें आपने कहीं, रवि जी ने किसी हद तक उस बात को सही कहा है कि स्टेट-सेंटर के रिलेशनशिप में जो कंस्टीट्यूशन है वह स्टेट के लॉ एंड आर्डर के मुताल्लिक है। जेठमलानी जी चले गए मैं उनसे भी कहना चाहता था, आर्टिकिल 365 को उन्होंने कोट किया, कंस्टीटयूशन के अंदर अकेला 355 नहीं 356,355 ये तमाम आर्टिकिल ऐसे हैं, यह बात ठीक है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की जिम्मेदारी है, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी से हिफाजत देने के लिए । लेकिन यह कौन तय करेगा? किसी भी स्टेट के अंदर वहां का मुख्य मंत्री तय करेगा, वहां का चीफ मिनिस्टर तय करेगा कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का असिस्टेंस चाहिए या नहीं चाहिए। आपको याद होगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर जिस बात को आपने कोट किया है कि वहां कई जिलों के अंदर नेक्सलाइट एक्टिव होते चले जा रहे हैं, हमारे यहां पर मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट होम एफेयर्स बैठे हैं। ये गए थे उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर और वहां पर तमाम ऑफिसर्स की मीटिंग बुलाई थी। लेकिन तमाम ऑफिसर्स ने आने से मना कर दिया, चूंकि स्टेट-गवर्नमेंट ने मना कर दिया कि आप लोग होम मिनिस्टर की मीटिंग के अंदर नहीं जाएंगे। तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट इससे ज्यादा क्या कर सकती है उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर ...(व्यवधान)... मुझे बोलने दो।

प्रो. रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा : आप उस सरकार को भंग कर दीजिए।

श्री उपसभापति : वे जवाब आपसे तलब नहीं कर रहे हैं, मिनिस्टर से तलब कर रहे हैं, आप क्यों इंटरेप्ट कर रहे हैं?

श्री राशिद अल्वी: उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर अयोध्या पर अटेक हुआ । सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने तभी स्टेटमेंट दिया कि इंटेलीजेंस की रिपोर्ट थी और इंटेलीजेंस ने पहले ही यह इत्तला कर दी थी उत्तर प्रदेश को। तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट इससे ज्यादा क्या कर सकती है, मैं अरूण शौरी जी से पूछना चाहता हूं। जहानाबाद के अंदर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने इंटेलीजेंस की रिपोर्ट पहले ही भेज दी थी। इससे ज्यादा सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के अख्त्यार के अंदर क्या है और मुझे याद है कि आप उस वक्त मंत्री थे जब

पार्लियामेंट के ऊपर हमला हुआ था। आपको याद होगा कि अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी मुम्बई के अंदर स्टेटमेंट देकर आए थे कि हमें मालूम था, हमारे पास इंटेलीजेंस की रिपोर्ट थी कि पार्लियामेंट के ऊपर हमला होगा। मुम्बई के अंदर उन्होंने बयान दिया था। इसके बावजूद पार्लियामेंट के ऊपर हमला रोका नहीं जा सका। मुझे पांच साल का वह पूरा दौर याद है आपकी भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार का कि जब कश्मीर असेम्बली पर हमला हुआ तब हाउस के अंदर आडवाणी जी ने कहा कि आई॰ एस॰ आई॰ का हाथ है, हम मजबूर हैं, हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते। पार्लियामेंट पर हमला हुआ तब आपने कहा कि आई॰ एस॰ आई॰ का हाथ है हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते। और एक दिन मैंने कहा था हाउस के अंदर कि आडवाणी जी ...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो॰ रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा : माननीय उपसभापति जी, माननीय आडवाणी जी ने तो कभी ऐसा नहीं कहा कि कुछ नहीं कर सकते। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: अब अगर मेरा एक-एक जुमला यह पकड़ेंगे तो बोलना मुश्किल होगा। और मुझे याद है कि मैंने कहा था, यहां मुंशी जी भी बैठे हुए हैं, कि आडवाणी जी मैं आपसे बहुत अदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर जो भी वाक्या होता है चाहे चांदनी चौक के अंदर बम फटे, चाहे रेलगाड़ी पटरी से उतरे आप हाउस में आते हैं और कह देते हैं कि आई॰ एस॰ आई॰ का हाथ है, मुझे तो ऐसा शुबहा होने लगा है कि उड़ीसा में समुद्र के अंदर जो तूफान आया था उसके पीछे भी आई॰ एस॰ आई॰ का हाथ है।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : आप मजाक मत करिए।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: मैं मजाक नहीं कर रहा हूं। लेकिन आपकी सरकार और इस सरकार के अंदर जमीन आसमान का फर्क है। इसके साथ-साथ मैं सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि टेरोरिज्म को खत्म करने के लिए..(व्यवधान)... सर, यह तो रनिंग कामेंट्री देते रहेंगे Sir, it is very difficult how can one speak in the house when it is not in order?

प्रो. रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा : आप तथ्यों पर बोलिए।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: जब एक घंटा अरुण शौरी जी बोले, तो किसी ने डिस्टर्ब किया? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: यह उड़ीसा के साइक्लोन के बारे में ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बहुत बोल लिये। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बहुत बोल लिये। ...(व्यवधान)... It is not possible ... ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: सर, यह उड़ीसा के साइक्लोन की बात कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: सर, क्या मैं इनसे पूछकर बोलूंगा।....(व्यवधान)...मैं इनसे पूछकर बोलूंगा कि मुझे क्या बोलना है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: यह किसने कहा। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठ जाइये। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: पार्लियामेंटेरियन इंटरफेयरेंस करने से नहीं बनता है, अपनी बात रखने से बनता है। आप सोचते हैं कि डिस्टर्ब करने से आप अच्छे पार्लियामेंटेरियन बन जायेंगे। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया : कम से कम आपसे नहीं सीखूंगा। मैं पार्लियामेंट के बारे में आपसे नहीं सीखूंगा।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: आप अपनी बात बोला कीजिए। आप हाउस को डिस्टर्ब मत किया कीजिए। ...(व्यवधान)... सर, मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूं, चूंकि मैं जानता हूं कि ये लोग बोलने नहीं देंगे। एक-एक जुमले को पकड़ने की कोशिश करेंगे। लेकिन इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी के अंदर यह भी देखना पड़ेगा कि पोलिटीशियन्स के क्रिमिनल्स के साथ क्या रिश्ते हैं? इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी सिर्फ नक्सलाइट्स और क्रास बार्डर टेरेरिज्म से नहीं है। इससे बड़ा खतरा देश के अंदर उन लोगों से है, जो क्रिमिनल्स के साथ मिलकर इस देश की इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी के लिए बड़ा भारी खतरा बन रहे हैं।

सर, मैं नाम नहीं ले रहा हूं क्योंकि फिर हंगामा हो सकता है, लेकिन एक बहुत बड़े डकैत ने आज तक और कितने ही टी॰वी॰ चैनल्स के ऊपर, निर्भय गूजर उत्तर प्रदेश का एक बहुत बड़ा डकैत रहा है, वह भी मारा गया, उसने इंटरव्यू में कहा कि एक मुख्य मंत्री के साथ मेरे दोस्ताना, मेरे बड़े भाई की हैसियत से...। उसने कहा कि मैंने उनके भाई को सोने का ताज भी पहनाने का काम किया, उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि मैंने इस पार्टी की पहले भी मदद की है और आइंदा भी मदद करूंगा। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट क्या करेगी। ...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो॰रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: बिल्कुल ठीक बात है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: यह बात इनको रास आती है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: रास नहीं आती है, यह बिल्कुल सही है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: अभी उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर तीन-चार दिन पहले ...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो॰ रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: यह ठीक बात कह रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: वर्मा जी, देखिये। ...(व्यवधान)... वह ठीक कह रहे हैं। जब वह कोई दूसरी बात कहते हैं तो उनके खिलाफ। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: अभी उत्तर प्रदेश में तीन चार दिन पहले एक एम०एल०ए० का कत्ल हुआ, उसको भी एक राजनीतिक दल पूरे तरीके से सपोर्ट करता है। सरकार दूसरे बाहुबली को सपोर्ट करती है। बाहुबलियों की लड़ाई में राजनैतिक दल उनके पीछे-पीछे खड़े हैं।

सर, अगर इस तरीके की राजनीति होगी, तो देश के अंदर इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी की बात करना बेमानी हो जायेगा। (...समय की घंटी...) आज सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के पास कौन-सा हथियार है, जिस हथियार के इस्तेमाल से इस स्टेट के लॉ एंड आर्डर को ठीक किया जा सके। मैं अरुण शौरी जी आपसे पूछना चाहता हूं, आप बहुत लर्नेड आदमी हैं। हालांकि आप बहुत सारे आर्टिकल्स ऐसे लिखते हैं, मैं बड़ी बारीकी से पढ़ता हूं, जो खुद इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी के लिए प्राब्लम क्रिएट कर देते हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... लेकिन आपसे पूछना चाहता हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री अरुण शौरी: आप मुझे एक लाइन कहने दीजिए। मैं आपको सपोर्ट कर रहा हूं। सर, एक कमीशन आफ इन्क्वायरी थी यहां की किसी की बनवाई हुई। उन्होंने कहा कि जो रायट्स हुए हैं, मेरी ऐसी किताब से, जो उन रायट्स के तीन साल बाद छपी थी। यह कमीशन आफ इन्क्वायरी ने कहा भागलपुर के बारे में। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राशिद अल्वी: तीन साल पहले आपने बता दिया होगा कि मैं यह किताब लिखने वाला हूं। (...समय की घंटी...) मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूं आप पाइंट आउट कीजिए कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट किस तरह से इन प्राब्लम्स को हल कर सकती है। हां, मैं एक रास्ता आपको बताने का काम करता हूं। कांस्टीट्युशन के बहुत से आर्टिकल्स हैं, जिनको लागू अकेले सरकार नहीं कर सकती है और ऐसी सरकार जो कोलीशन सरकार है। आज उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर या किसी स्टेट के अंदर आर्टिकल 356 का इस्तेमाल करेंगे, तो कितना हंगामा देश के अंदर होगा। लेकिन यह बताइये कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट क्या कर सकती है? एक्सटरनल प्राब्लम्स के अंदर तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट बहुत कुछ कर सकती है, लेकिन बाहुबलियों के साथ पॉलिटिशियन्स का साथ है। नक्सलाइट्स मूवमेंट है, आंध्र प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने शायद पहली बार उन लोगों को मैस में बुलाकर बातचीत करने की कोशिश की, उन्हें पूरा मौका दिया, पुलिस से कह दिया कि अभी इनके साथ कोई ऐसा व्यवहार नहीं किया जायेगा, हम बातचीत करेंगे। ऐसा नहीं है कि इतिहास के अंदर पहले नहीं हुआ है। स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी ने श्री घीसिंग के साथ बातचीत करके समस्या का समाधान किया था। हमारे सामने एक मिसाल मौजूद है। आंध्र प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने वही काम करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन आखिरकार फेल हो गये।

इसलिए सरकार की नीति है कि जहां पर बात से मसला हल होता हो, वहां हथियार नहीं उठाना चाहिए। यकीनन वे सारे लोग जो देश के अंदर हैं और हंगामा कर रहे हैं, अगर उनको सीधा रास्ता

7.00 P.M.

मिल जाए तो ज्यादा बेहतर तरीका होगा। लेकिन मैं आपसे कहूंगा कि बजाय सरकार को क्रिटीसाइज़ करने के - जो बात आपने कहीं थी कि - इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी ऐसा मामला है, जिस मामले के अंदर हम सबको बैठकर जांच करनी चाहिए। एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ अंगुली नहीं उठानी चाहिए। जब आप इधर अंगुली उठाएंगे तो मजबूरन इधर अंगुली उठेगी क्योंकि आज 58 साल के बाद एक अच्छा काम यह हुआ है कि देश का कोई भी राजनैतिक दल ऐसा नहीं है जो सत्ता के अंदर नहीं रहा। हर राजनैतिक दल जो सत्ता के अंदर रहा है, उसके अच्छे और बुरे काम देश की जनता के सामने हैं। आप किसी एक के बारे में कहेंगे तो दूसरा सफाई के साथ आपके बारे में कहेगा।..(समय की घंटी)... सर, मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूं, अभी तो बहुत टाइम था लेकिन मेरा आधा टाइम तो मेरा इन्होंने खराब कर दिया। इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी एक ऐसा मसला है जिसका ताल्लुक संजीदगी से ज्यादा...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो॰ रामबख्श सिंह वर्मा: मान्यवर, ये फिर आरोप लगा रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान)... ये अपनी बात नहीं कह रहे हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: अरे, ज़रा सुनिए तो।

श्री राशिद अल्वी: इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी के मामले में हम सबको बैठना चाहिए और आपसे कहूंगा, सरकार से भी कहूंगा कि कॉन्स्टीट्यूशन को अगर हम अमेंड कर सकें तो हमें उसे अमेंड भी करना चाहिए लेकिन आप ठीक तरीके से प्वाइंट आउट कीजिए कि सैंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को क्या करना चाहिए, क्या नहीं करना चाहिए। महोदय, मैं फैज़ के इस शेर के साथ अपनी बात खत्म करुंगा:

आइए हाथ उठाएं हम भी,

हम जिन्हें कोई बुद्ध कोई खुदा याद नहीं।

आइए अर्ज़ गुज़ारें कि निगारे हस्ती,

ज़हर-ए इमरोज़ में शीरनी-फरदा भर दे।

हम, जो खुदा को भूल गए, उसी खुदा से दुआ करते हैं कि आज के दिन में जो ज़हर भर गया है, ऐ खुदा, उसे शीरनी कर दे, मीठा कर दे, आज के हालात को ठीक हालात बना दे। आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

श्री उपसभापति: श्री वसंत चव्हाण, आपकी पार्टी के तीन मिनट हैं।

श्री वसंत चव्हाण (महाराष्ट्र): उपसभापति जी, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूं जो आपने एनसीपी को थोड़ा समय दिया।

श्री उपसभापति: थोड़ा समय नहीं, अलॉटिड समय दे रहा हूं।

श्री वसंत चव्हाण: काफी लोगों को अच्छा समय मिला।

श्री उपसभापति: मिल जाता है कभी-कभी। आपको भी मिल जाएगा कभी।

श्री वसंत चव्हाण: जैसी आपकी मर्जी, न्याय आपके हाथ में है। फैसले का तराजू आपके हाथ में है। हम आपकी अध्यक्षता में बैठे हैं। जैसा आप चाहें। आप जो ठीक समझें, करें। उपसभापति महोदय, यह बात कही गयी कि काफी गंभीर चर्चा यहां हुई। लेकिन यह बात मानने वाली नहीं है कि कहीं देश के अस्तित्व का सवाल इस इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी से पैदा हो गया है। कुछ बातें गंभीर जरूर हैं। सरकार भी कोई निकम्मी नहीं है, वह ऐसे ही नहीं बैठी है। काफी जगह सरकार ने काम भी किया है लेकिन यह चित्र बनाना कि आज का माहौल ऐसा है जिससे हमारी आंतरिक सुरक्षा सब तरफ से धोखे में आ रही है, यह कतई हकीकत नहीं है। इसको देश शायद नहीं मानेगा। इस बात को सामने रखकर अगर कोई चाहेगा कि देश का मत अपनी तरफ खींचेगा या अपनी तरफ से मत बनाए तो वह नहीं होगा। चूंकि बुनियादी बात यह है कि आज जो सरकार है और सरकार के साथ जो लोग हैं, उनको मुल्क पहचानता है कि यह धर्मनिरपेक्ष तत्वों की सरकार है और इस मुल्क में जब सरकार इन तथ्यों पर चलने वाली होती है जो किसी धर्म के विवाद में पड़ना नहीं चाहती, किसी धर्म का झगड़ा नहीं लगाना चाहती, किसी जाति-पाति का झगड़ा नहीं लगाना चाहती, अगर कोई बात कम-ज्यादा हो भी जाए तो लागों में यह गलतफहमी नहीं फैलती कि इस सरकार की नीयत अच्छी नहीं है। सरकार की नीयत भी अच्छी है, सरकार की नीति भी अच्छी है। देखने वाले की नज़र शायद अच्छी नहीं होगी, अपना नज़रिया वह आप साफ करे। लेकिन इस सरकार ने ऐसा कोई मामला नहीं होने दिया जिससे कोई प्रांत, कोई प्रदेश पूरा हिल गया, जिससे किसी को, देश की बाहर की ताकतों को कहना पड़ा कि हिन्दुस्तान की इज्ज़त पर बड़ा दाग लगा है।- ऐसी कोई बात यहां नहीं हुई है। जो घटनाएं हुई, उनका कोई समर्थन नहीं करता, वे नहीं होनी चाहिए थीं। मैं जिस प्रांत से आता हूं, वहां का उल्लेख पी.सी. एलेक्ज़ेंडर साहब ने किया, वे वहां पर गवर्नर रहे, कि वहां चन्द्रपुर में नक्सलवादियों की थोड़ी समस्या है।

शायद शौरी जी भी उसको ठीक से जानते हैं। वहां सिरोचा है, भामरागढ़ है, चंद्रपुर है–नक्सलवादियों का बहुत बड़ा एरिया है। कई पुलिस वालों की जानें गई हैं। कई देहाती लोग मर गए हैं, आज भी मर रहें हैं, गाड़ियों समेत उड़ाए जा रहे हैं। महोदय, यह तीनों प्रांतो का प्रश्न है, अकेली महाराष्ट्र सरकार इससे नहीं लड़ पाती है, इसका पूरा बंदोबस्त नहीं कर पाती है। इसमें आंध्र प्रदेश भी है, मध्य प्रदेश भी है और महाराष्ट्र भी है। अगर केंद्र इसके लिए प्रयत्न करे कि तीनों प्रांतों की सरकारों को एकत्र करके उन सरकारों के ज़रिए इस मामले को ठीक से हल किया जाए, तो हो सकता है कि वह प्रश्न हल भी हो जाएगा, लेकिन इसकी बुनियाद में कुछ आर्थिक प्रश्न भी हैं, इसकी बुनियाद में उनकी ज़रुरतों के प्रश्न भी हैं, उन प्रश्नों को हल करने के लिए जितना भी नक्सलियों का एरिया है, उसके लिए अगर स्पेशल डेवलपमेंट पैकेज, इकानॉमिक पैकेज केंद्र की तरफ से नहीं आएगा, तो वहां के आम आदमी की जो समस्याएं हैं, वे हल नहीं होंगी और आम आदमी को फिर इन बातों से कोई

सरोकार नहीं रह जाएगा कि क्या सरकार के खिलाफ होता है और क्या सरकार के खिलाफ नहीं होता है? जिसके पेट में रोटी नहीं है, जिसके तन पर कपड़ा नहीं है, उसको देश की ज्यादा चिंता करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं होती - इस किस्म की भावना को वहां फैलने में शायद मदद मिलेगी, इसलिए सरकार को यह प्रयत्न करना चाहिए कि यह जो नक्सली एरिया है, इसके लिए स्पेशल डेवलपमेंट पैकेज, स्पेशल इकानॉमिक पैकेज बनाना चाहिए।

उपसभापति जी, एक बात बहुत अच्छी हुई। तेरह साल हुए जब मुम्बई में हमने बम-बलास्ट देखे थे। किस तरह आदमियों की धज्जियां उड़ीं, हमने देखी थीं। एक के बाद एक, बीस मिनट में सारी मुम्बई दहल गई थी। ये बम-बलास्ट इसलिए कराए गए थे कि यह भारत की आर्थिक राजधानी है, इस पर हमला करो, तो देश हिल जाएगा, देश की प्रतिमा हिल जाएगी। वहां की सरकार ने 24 घंटे में वहां का शेयर बाज़ार चालू करवाया, लोकल ट्रेन्स चालू करवाईं और कोशिश करते रहे कि जो बम-बलास्ट में शामिल थे, चाहे वह दाऊद हो, चाहे अबू सलेम हो, उनको यहां लाया जाए। तेरह साल तक कोई नहीं ला पाया, लेकिन आज की सरकार को यह धन्यवाद ज़रूर देना पड़ेगा कि सलेम को जो कोई नहीं ला सका, यह सरकार उसको यहां लाई। इसके पहले कोई सरकार उसको नहीं ला पाई। इतना लड़कर, कानूनी लड़ाइयां लड़कर, अपनी मंशा पूरी करने के लिए, उसके पीछे पूरा ढाड़स बंधाकर आखिर वे उसको यहां लाए। इससे आगे और भी जिनको लाना पड़ेगा या जो मिल सकेंगे ...(व्यवधान).... अगर आप थक नहीं गए हैं तो ठीक है, आप भी कोशिश कीजिए। हम तो नहीं थके हैं, हम तो लाने की कोशिश करेंगे।

उपसभापति महोदय, जहानाबाद में जो कुछ हुआ, बहुत बुरा हुआ। देश के लिए यह अच्छी बात नहीं है कि आर्मी की तरह लोग आएं, जेल पर हमला करें और अपने साथियों को उठाकर ले जाएं। यह हमारे लिए बहुत बुरी बात है। इसका समर्थन किसी तरीके से नहीं हो सकता है और आज केंद्र कम रहा या बिहार सरकार कम रही, जो भी हो, देश में फिज़ा बिगड़ी है और इसको ठीक करने का केंद्र सरकार को पूरा-पूरा प्रयत्न करना पड़ेगा, इसकी जिम्मेदारियां भी उठानी पड़ेंगी।

महोदय, दिल्ली वालों की मैं ताईद करता हूं, उनकी हिम्मत की दाद देता हूं कि दिल्ली में जो अभी बम-बलास्ट हुए, दिल्ली वालों ने चौबीस घंटों में फिर से अपनी दुकान का शटर ऊपर किया। उन्होंने बताया कि हम आतंकवाद से लड़ सकते हैं, हम में हिम्मत है। वह हिम्मत जो दिल्ली वालों ने दिखाई, उसको देखते हुए, उसके पीछे कौन है और कौन उसके गुनहगार हैं, यह अगर हम आज तक नहीं ढूंढ पाए, तो दिल्ली वालों के दिलों को दिलासा नहीं मिलेगा। हमको कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि दिल्ली वालों ने तो अपनी हिम्मत दिखाई, लेकिन जो उसके पीछे गुनहगार हैं, शायद वे अभी तक हमारे शिकंजे में नहीं आ सके, इसके बारे में बहुत ज्यादा कोशिश करने की ज़रूरत है। (समय की घंटी)

उपसभापति जी, एक-दो बातें सिर्फ और बोलूंगा। अरूण शौरी जी ने तेलगी के केस का थोड़ा रेफरेंस दिया, क्योंकि मैं उस ज़माने में वहां मिनिस्टर था, इसलिए मुझे यह बात याद है। मैं शौरी जी

से कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां की राज्य सरकार यह केस सी.बी.आई. को नहीं देना चाहती थी, ऐसी बात नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री अरुण शौरी : कर्नाटक गवर्नमेंट ने कहा था।

श्री वसंत चव्हाण : महाराष्ट्र का नहीं कहा, आपने किसी गवर्नमेंट का नाम नहीं लिया।

श्री अरुण शौरी : यह documented fact है कि कर्नाटक गवर्नमेंट ने ड्रैग किया था, तो ultimately public pressure से उनको agree करना पड़ता था।

SHRI VASANT CHAVAN: If it is concerning Karnataka, I do not want to say anything because at that time you did not mention the name of the State. So, I thought you were talking about Maharashtra State.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I did not want to create any controversy. Now that since you have asked me, it is well-known that it is Karnataka.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Karnataka): It is the Government of Karnataka which made arrests, took action and ten cases were filed. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I have gone into that. The IG who did that just happens to be a Member of Parliament of the BJP. So, I know as to how it was done. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री वसंत चव्हाण : Anyway, दोनों प्रांतो ने अपना-अपना काम किया है, अच्छा काम किया है। उपसभापति महोदय, यह बात भी हकीकत है कि जितनी ताकत से केस शुरु हुआ था, अब बहुत ढीला पड़ता जा रहा है। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि तेलगी के जीते भी इसका कोई इंतजाम भी बाहर न आए, हमें फिकर इस बात की है। सरकार को इस पर भी गंभीरता से सोचना पड़ेगा और जो-जो इसमें काम करते हैं, अगर न्यायालय भी काम करता है तो उसको भी सोचना पड़ेगा कि तेलगी के जीते जी इसका फैसला हो जाए तो देश को पता चलेगा कि कौन इसमें गुनाहगार है और कौन इसमें असली बुरा काम करने वाले लोग हैं?

महोदय, मेरी सिर्फ एक ही बात रह गई है कि श्री अबू आसिम आजमी ने श्री कृष्ण कमीशन की एक बात का रेफ्रेंस दिया था। उन्होंने कहा कि दिल्ली में सिख भाइयों के साथ जो अन्याय हुआ था, उसको दूर करने का देश के पंथ प्रधान सरदार मनमोहन सिंह जी ने पूरा प्रयास किया और इस मामले को हल कर दिया। इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी के लिए इस सद्भाव का निर्माण होना भी जरूरी था। इसके लिए पंथ प्रधान को सारे देश ने बधाई भी दी। सब लोग इस बारे में धन्यवाद भी देते हैं कि उन्होंने बहुत बड़ा काम किया है। कई सालों से जो काम चल रहा था और जिसमें कुछ ने कुछ हलचल हो रही थी, उसको उन्होंने सीधा करने की कोशिश की है। उन्होंने श्री कृष्ण कमीशन की बात कही और उन्होंने यह कहा कि यहां तो आपने एक मिनिस्टर को हटा दिया, लेकिन श्री कृष्ण

कमीशन ने जिनका नाम लिया है, उनको मंत्री बना दिया। हिम्मत है तो सामने आकर बोलें कि किसका नाम श्री कृष्ण कमीशन में है, कौन से मंत्री का, कौन से व्यक्ति का, वे आज कौन से मंत्री हैं, किस मंत्रालय में काम कर रहे हैं अगर हिम्मत है तो बात करें। अगर उनके पास तथ्य नहीं है और वह ढांढस नहीं है तो मेहरबानी करके पर्दे के पीछे से तीर चलाना बंद करें। वे फिर से महाराष्ट्र की, मुम्बई की फिज़ा खराब करने का काम न करें। यह मैं उनसे अनुरोध करता हूं।

गृह मंत्री जी से मेरा सिर्फ यह अनुरोध है। कि जो चर्चा हुई है, ठीक है नुक्ताचीनी दोनों तरफ से हुई होगी, लेकिन इसको गंभीरता से लें। पुलिस के महकमें में ज्यादा सुधार करने की जरूरत है, आधुनिक बनाने की जरूरत है। जो प्रश्न दो-तीन राज्यों का हैं, उसके लिए एक फेडरल काउंसिल बनाकर, उन प्रश्नों को हल करने की जरूरत है और जो बजट आज पुलिस के लिए है, आज जितने आदमी पुलिस में काम कर रहे हैं, ये शायद कम हैं, इनको बढ़ना चाहिए। जो पुलिस में गलती करते हैं, मेहरबानी करके उनको माफ न करें, उनको घर जाने दें। उनकी जगह दूसरे नौजवान बच्चे आएंगे और ईमानदारी से काम करेंगे। आप इतना काम करें। यह कहते हुए मैं आपनी बात खत्म करता हूं।

DR. CHANDAN MITRA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I thank you for having given me the opportunity to speak on this issue. I know that the House has been debating this issue for a long time. As you said, "अभी हाउस का बहुत कुछ सुनने का मूड नहीं है", I will try to be very brief and I will focus on one particular aspect of the issue because internal security is a very vast subject. It includes, as many Members have pointed out, questions of terrorism, separatist groups, infiltration from across the border, drug caterls and a host of crimes that are involved in this large issue of internal security.

My focus is on the aspect of Naxalite violence, and, particularly, the connections between Naxalite groups in India and Naxalite groups abroad. I am very glad that the Minister of State for External Affairs is also here with the Minister of State for Home Affairs because, I think, there is a great need for coordination between the External Affairs and Home Ministries in dealing with the problem which has assumed a huge dimension, particularly in State like Bihar.

The Jehanabad incident which has really shaken the country because it is the first time in the history of independent India that an organised guerrilla raid, reminiscent of what used to happen in China and Vietnam, happened in the heartland of India People came in droves, announced their intentions, went and raided the jail, got people freed, dragged out

their enemies, and, after a few days, we found two of them, their headless bodies thrown into the fields and the police could do nothing.

Then, they walked down the streets of the town with a microphone and a loudspeaker and announced that they had come, they had achieved their objective and they were retreating. This complete abdication by the State and the way they cocked a snook at authority is absolutely unheard of in independent India. And, Sir, this happened, I think, with the full knowledge, intimation or anticipation by the law-enforcing authorities. The armoury of the police station at Giridih was raided only a few days before the Jehanabad incident and a lot of arms and ammunition were taken away and these were used in the Jehanabad raid. There should have, obviously, been far greater coordination in the whole matter; information should have flowed very clearly and categorically and action should have been taken. I think, somehow, there is an atmosphere now that nobody is taking this matter seriously and considering the issue of Naxalite violence with the importance and gravity that it demands. Sir,according to information in our possession, Naxalites have killed more people in recent years than the Jehadis have killed in Jammu and Kashmir. But, the magnitude of the problem does not seem to come out from the Government's response. I would, therefore, urge the Home Ministry to look into this matter seriously, especially the issue of coordination between the States. The issue has been raised that law and order is a State subject; the Centre cannot always do something to intervene. But the Centre can urge, the Centre can intervene with the States, the Centre can coordinate the policies between the States. I am sure no State is going to object because all are suffering, As the hon. Member has just now said, " The problem is not in Maharashtra only, so many other States are also involved." Who is going to do this coordination? So, Central coordination a unified policy frame work frequent meetings and holding of the coordinating committee meetings regularly are absolutely essential. The Problem has not been tackled with the sense of urgency that was required.

Sir, the other point I would like to raise is that there is a great inconsistency between the Government's supposed commitment to stamp out Naxalite violence in India and the way it has dealt with Maoists in Nepal. Sir, I would like to know from the Minister of State for External Affairs as well as the Minister of State for Home Affairs. Is it not a fact that the Nepali Maoist leader, so called Comrade Prachanda, was in Delhi and Government intermediaries brokered a deal between the Maoists Communists and the political parties in Nepal ? Now, Comrade Prachanda

and Babulal Bhattarai are people against whom there are interpol red alert. So these poeple were brought to Delhi and whatever the Government's intention — may be very good, I am not questioning that — the point is, if you play footsie with one set of Maoists who have created terror in Nepal, and, at the same time, wish to fight Maoists inside India, there is an inconsistency in the position. I think, it is very important that there must be a consistency in Government's policy because the Nepal Maoists have made no secret of their plan to launch a similar movement in India and assist Indian Maoists. There is credible evidence that in a raid on another police station in a place called Madhuban in East Champaran District in Bihar, a few months ago, some Nepali Maoists were there to help their Indian comrades. So, in this scenario, unless there is a coordinated policy interally, and consistency in terms of foreign policy towards Nepal and what we do in India, this kind of incidents are bound to grow and multiply. So, this is what I wish to urge the Government of India — to try and coordinate and seriously consider the enactment of federal laws which have now been done in countries like the United States, which we have discussed in this House also on earlier occasions. we have discussed whether there is a need for designating certain crimes as federal crimes and devising appropriate strategies to deal with them. Certainly, terrorism and naxalite violence are in this category where you need the Centre and the States to come closer and coordinate their activities. Just a few days ago, there was a map published in many newspapers, described as the naxalite map of India.

It showed that from Nepal right down to Kerala, there were blotches of red being connected from North to South. The so-called red corridr, which the naxalites have been talking about, has practically been achieved. So, I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister one question through you, Sir, when will the Government wake up to this problem, and when will it adopt a coordinate policy? Thank you very much, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Statement by the Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs on the Thirteenth SAARC Summit in Dhaka.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, it is a very lengthy Statement. It can be laid.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a lengthy Statement. You can lay the Statement on the Table of the House.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. (SHRI E. AHAMMED): Sir, I would definitely lay a copy of the Statement on the Table of the House. But, Sir, this morning the hon. Chairman has instructed me to give the clarification to some hon. Members.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will take up the clarifications later.

SHRI E. AHAMMED: Sir, since only one Member is there, let him put his clarification. It will take only two minutes.

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: (West Bengal): Sir, in the morning I wanted to ask a question. I was told that the Statement was going to be laid. Sir, we cannot keep on postponing the clarification. I have no problem, if you give the ruling that clarifications can be sought tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not a question of ruling. It is the sense of the House.

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: But, Sir, then what will happen? My question does not get answered. I cannot seek clarification here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have not studied the Statement.

SHRI E. AHAMMED: Sir, he has studied it.

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: Sir, it is related to the question I wanted to ask in the morning.

SHRI E. AHAMMED: Sir, it is a general question by the hon. Member on the SAARC economic position, which he has already put in the morning during the Question Hour. The Chairman has directed me to clarify it when I make the Statement. So, since I am laying the Statement on the Table of the House, I can clarify his point. Then everything will be over.

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: So, when can we seek clarifications?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will fix the date.

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: That is all right. I have no problem.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Clarifications will be there.

SHRI E. AHAMMED: So, can I lay clarifications?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, only lay the Statement.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Is it clarification to the question?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Then what is this?

SHRI E. AHAMMED: Sir, I can answer...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: This is a very important...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the Minister will lay the Statement.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Thirteenth SAARC Summit In Dhaka

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI E. AHAMMED): Sir, I lay a copy of the Statement on the Thirteenth SAARC Summit in Dhaka on the Table of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can send the clarification to the hon. Member. There is no question of laying the clarification. You can send the clarification if the hon. Member wants. Because the other four or five Members who have requested for clarification are not here. So, we will fix the other date for clarifications.

SHRI E. AHAMMED: Sir, it can be taken up next Wednesday.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It can be fixed as per your convenience. The Short Duration Discussion on the internal security scenario in the country is over. The reply will be tomorrow. The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11.00 a.m.

The House then adjourned at twenty-three minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 2nd December, 2005.

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